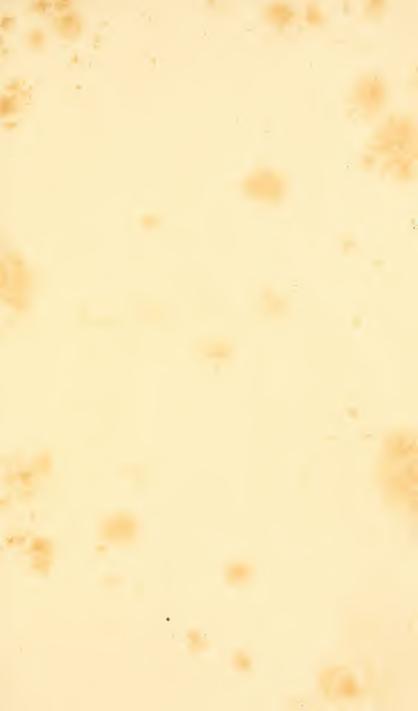
N E W SANCTUARY OF PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT AND SCIENCE

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SERIOUS THOUGHTS,

GENERATED BY PERUSING

LORD BROUGHAM'S

DISCOURSE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY;

WITH A

Few Broad Hints

ON

EDUCATION AND POLITICS.

BY A STUDENT IN REALITIES.

PART I.

Either blind faith in mysteries, or mental conviction from facts ; but no more Metaphysics.

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THEOREM.

SINCE an organic instinctive wish for, and an inherent want of, some knowledge, constitute the very reality and essence of the religious feeling in ignorance of nature, **RELIGIONS**, *properly so called*, are not only completely out of reach of destruction, but are even beyond the apprehension of it.

As, however, all things, impressions, and ideas, whether denominated physical, moral, or intellectual, are subject to vicissitude and change, religious feelings and notions must, of necessity, obey, in common with the rest, the natural law of HUMAN PROGRESSIVENESS.

Consequently, all fixed dogmas, all articles of faith in mystic worship, as well as all opinions liable to controversy, which have hitherto *mediated*, or are now in actual process of MEDIATION for mankind, have undergone or are undergoing gradual and successive modifications; changing naturally with the character of the age, and insensibly disappearing; until finally absorbed by the greater attraction of a NEW MEDIATING influence, more in harmony with TIME and THOUGHT than the preceding one.

Hence, nothing can be more futile, more unreasonable, and more fraught with prejudice or superstition, than the regrets, lamentations, and sectarian fears incessantly repeated by departing generations, respecting the temporary fate of their respective churches.*

* See pages 5, 34, 39, 44, 45, 52, 61, 72, and 76 to 80.

PREFACE.

UNDER the present influence of a more rapid and, in it's consequences, more awful march of the mental progress of society, than any other age can boast of, life is really too short, for much to be wasted in the investigation and correction of metaphysical abstractions and aberrations.

As, therefore, Lord Brougham's Discourse upon Natural Theology, although written by a great man, exhibits as much of that character as any of the opinions and "air spun" errors, he endeavours with some success, to ridicule and refute, we shall, disclaiming altogether any thing like a general refutation or a particular criticism, content ourselves with stating the ideas suggested to us, by the perusal of a portion of that noble Lord's production.

When the "Discourse" was first advertised, we anticipated, in common with those who have followed Henry Brougham for the last twenty years, some new gigantic idea on faith and religion, unveiling all

PREFACE.

mysteries—some new and positive basis of thought and action—some new social system of laws and regulations, founded more on the real wants of mankind, than upon their blind faith,—some new axioms of life and government deduced from our present knowledge of the organization of man; or, at least, that the shameful absurdity of old European legislation, when compared with the present symptoms of the new feelings of society, was about to be exposed, so as to be made evident to even the meanest capacities—but no, the "Discourse" appeared,—we searched through it in vain, and our first impression was that of disappointment.

To this feeling succeeded that of surprise and regret, that an intellect so powerful as that of Henry Brougham's should have laid itself open to the charge of inconsistency, if not to the more serious one of a compromise of principle. Our surprise, however, ceased, upon reflecting that man's mental organization is not less obnoxious to change and modification than his physical one, and that, as the magnet is constantly more or less deflected from its true direction, so the firmest and best intentioned mind is occasionally warped from political integrity.

Endowed with talents and blessed with energies, which not only gained him the respect and admiration of all honest men, but also, struck terror into the knavish and the unprincipled, Lord Brougham might easily have maintained a dignified and commanding attitude, and relying upon the irresistible power of natural facts, to convince the understanding, and to secure the approbation of his countrymen, have bid defiance to all the mean but pertinacious endeavors of female bigotry, and all the dirty and despicable manœuvres of back stair intrigue, to fix upon him the charge of heterodoxy.

Instead of this, what has been his course?

He has preferred tacking himself to the skirts of a second rate theologian; he has chosen to identify himself with that less than third rate class of philosophers, who having before their eyes the fear of the priesthood, think it no prostitution of their intellect to chime in with the cant of the day, and to labor, head and hand, for perpetuating error and falsehood. Isaac Vossius being once asked what had become of a certain man of letters, bluntly replied, "He has turned country parson, and is deceiving the vulgar." It is lamentable to think how applicable the latter part of this answer is to the enlightened, liberalminded and knowledge-promoting Lord Brougham,

It is no easy matter to penetrate the real motives which actuate men like Lord Brougham; a mental capacity of such calibre as he possesses communes only with itself, asks counsel only of itself, and, like a wise and cautious general, would conceal, almost from itself, the knowledge of its own plans,—we cannot, therefore, presume to explain the reasons which may have induced the noble Lord to follow in the wake of an archdeacon, but if ambition be one, we fully agree with a contemporary, when he says, " the ambition of Lord B. seems just to have " missed its mark, from the error perhaps of making " too large an allowance for the wind of expediency."

PREFACE.

Natural Theology will never seduce but the halfreligious, the half-thinking, and the half-convinced. It aims at establishing a singular "juste milieu" system, between blind faith in revelation on the one hand, and mental conviction, arising from a knowledge of realities, on the other; but this wretched system, the offspring of distempered minds, must be wholly obliterated from our religious literature and our politics: it's equivocal principles cannot thrive in the present excited moral atmosphere of Europe, for like bifront Janus, it presents two faces equally repulsive, and equally deceitful, alike abhorred by Liberals and Serviles.—Perish it must in theology as in politics, and perish it will by a *felo de se*.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS.

ALL works upon Theology, whether on "revelation" or on Nature, as well as all the philosophical writings of ancient and modern times, on Metaphysics, Spiritualism, Ethics, &c. are nought but the *result of impressions made on the mind of man*, through what it has been agreed to denominate FAITH in FICTION or CONVICTION from FACTS: such impressions or feelings changing their name, influence, and power over society, according to time, to circumstance, and to the degree of positive knowledge diffused by civilization.

Many expected the Discourse now before the public, to have been more in advance of all its predecessors in the wide field of speculative abstraction, than it has proved to be. It is, in fact, anything but an attempt to annihilate fiction and superstition; for it is clear that the sole aim of the author is to destroy one source of error and prejudice, with the view of substituting another, however well disguised. What is it, for instance, that we read in the preface—page 2?—"We were strongly urged "to publish an edition of Dr. Paley's popular work, " with copious and scientific illustrations. We both "favoured this plan, (Lord B. and John Charles Spencer,) " but some of our colleagues justly appre-" hended that the adoption of it might open the door " to the introduction of religious controversy among " us, against our fundamental principles."—This opening, we confess, vastly diminished our predisposition to admire.

How very exclusively English this is, and yet how unaccountably stupid! What! a society is formed for the noble purpose of Diffusing Useful Knowledge, yet sets out, forsooth, by forbidding the most useful -the most interesting of all discussions-those relating to the utility of the old dogmas, of mysteries, and of religion, as now taught !--admitting all the while those questions to be a constant source of angry disputation, threatening even the dissolution of society! This, in our humble opinion, is the very reason why free discussion should have been encouraged, as the most likely means of putting an end to quarrel and dispute; but no, they "justly apprehended." Why justly ? why apprehend any thing? were they afraid of the Devil? do they actually believe in the existence of his Satanic Majesty ? if so, what kind of useful knowledge are we to expect from them ? useful to whom ? to the people? never.

They say "that it might have "opened the door to religious controversy." Well, and what then? Was their mind so clogged, so benumbed by the torpors and terrors of blind faith, as to incapacitate them for any other useful thought?—Impossible! we shall never believe it, for the faculties of thought, when duly cultivated, raise the intellectual man above the religious feeling; it was, therefore, a mere weak and pusillanimous regard for some antiquated notion about a theological power which, intimidating and over-awing nineteen persons out of twenty, continually prevents the necessary reforms in the abuses arising from errors and prejudices, the continuance of which must perpetuate it's evil influence, and criminal desire of preventing the diffusion of the very knowledge which the society avowed it their object to promote and diffuse.

Shall we never know, then, what is faith? or why mankind did always believe? why it is, that we invariably find philosophy opposed to blind faith? Which of the two, then, is now the most attractive? Which the best adapted for improving the mental faculties of the brain? For it is now time to choose; and which of the two was ever inseparable from, and ever good for ignorance? These, and other such, are the true questions for the day—and undoubtedly the most useful of any to be examined by liberal and learned societies, who profess to be disinterested, and who promised to be useful to the people at large.

What, after all, is that religious feeling so very prone to silence, if not the vague expression of mankind, in its primitive ignorance : the natural organic wish to acquire knowledge? Is is not true, that the MORE we know of nature the less we can understand our faith? Is it not true, also, that the LESS we know of nature through physical sciences, the more that faith has exercised absolute sway over all our thoughts and actions? Here then we have abundant matter for serious reflection and discussion. We should not have at present to discuss the origin, the necessity, the utility, the mission in short, of religious notions, if, before now, such discussion had been allowed; but since, at last, we enjoy full liberty of conscience, full liberty of opinion, full liberty of the press, in the name of common sense, let us encourage Societies for the "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," without any restriction whatever upon thought, and subjected only to such regulations as may be necessary to enforce the proper bearing and deportment of the members towards each other, and to ensure a fair hearing to every one's advantages which no epoch of the mental progress can ever reject, blame, or despise.

When once the mind has enjoyed conviction, from visible and tangible facts, the belief in fictions and mysteries loses much of its influence on our own will and determination; yet we read in a book just written in favour of positive science (p. 5.) "There is, as "regards natural *theology*, a more limited use of the "word which confines it to the knowledge and attri-" butes of the *Deity*, and regards the speculation "concerning *his* will and our *hopes* from, and duties "towards *him.*"

What shall we say to this? Why, that a man whose name is an authority, publishes a book in 1835, and writes in it, about the "knowledge," and the "attribute," of what is totally unknown: about "hopes from" that, which is assumed: about "duties towards him," whose existence as a Being cannot be conceived by the human mind, when trained in positive and useful knowledge. Yet that great man well knows that the supposed existence of some such being was never fully credited, but when, and where, nothing positive was ever well known; when, and where, no facts could yet be brought to bear against invented mysteries and fiction; in the name of positive sciences, of what actual utility can such a book be, to a people called upon seriously to renounce superstition, and to acquire useful knowledge?—be at least consistent.

At page 18, we are again astounded by the most curious division of our knowledge into "human" and "divine," which means nothing else but using other words for facts and fiction: it runs thus— "In a word the structure and relation of the universe "form the subject of the one branch of philosophy, "and may be termed human science: the origin and "destiny of the universe form the subject of the other "branch, and is termed Divine science or theology."

Now, we are of opinion that it is only the first, (human science) which deserves at all the name of positive science, for it is that alone, that can possibly lead us to what is termed "the second branch," or true theology (if that word must always be preserved.) It is only a knowledge of the structure of the universe, and that of the relations existing between all the beings and substances in existence, which can ever lead us to form any idea of its origin and destiny; therefore it is throughout human science and nothing else.

Neither can we understand the proposition (p. 19.) where it is said, "the proposition which we would "establish is, that the science of *natural theology* is,

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" strictly a branch of inductive philosophy, formed " and supported by the same kind of reasoning upon " which the physical science and psychological " science are founded." No such thing—that science, (natural theology) is not a branch of inductive philosophy, for if it is any thing, it must of necessity be purely and simply the corollary, the result, of all the other sciences, " if we wish to know the origin of the world, as well as the origins and relations of all the beings in it, and upon it, is it not evident that we must observe, investigate, in short that we must study the world, the beings, and their relation ?" *

What most offends our understanding in this, as in all similar works, is, the readiness with which an assumption is made, and then a conclusive argument built upon it, just as if such assumption were facts lately discovered and confirmed. For instance," we read (p. 29.) of the Discourse, "When his (Newton's) "discoveries taught the properties of " light, it was found to have been acted upon, and " consequently known by the Being who created the "eye." Now, for the real sense of this-First, imagine an " immense Being," as the creator of the universe. Secondly, endow that Being with all the faculties, the notions, and the impressions of the human organization, then only is it, that you are warranted to say rationally, that " when your Being created the eye, he must have had a knowledge of the properties we attribute to light." For our part we can see no use whatever for the people in such, or any other comparison, or parallel, between the positive

discoveries of men, and the assumed knowledge of a supposed Being. We are satisfied with admitting that eyes without light, or light without eyes, would appear to our mind to be equally absurd, and that having both at our command, we are bound in the interest and welfare of all, to use both our eyes to see the light, and use to the utmost, our mental faculties, to improve social comfort and happiness, and the same for all the contents of nature within our reach.

All this gallimatias * of literary hodge-podge, however correct the style, however ingenious the thought, for those who admire intellectual wanderings, belongs of right to the primitive schools, or rather more properly to what should be called, the *bastard* school of humanity, *i. e.* fiction still respected, with due submission; and facts brought up and presented so, as to support its evil influence. Believing the intention good, we may commend the feelings of the heart, in re-publishing now such trash, but we must condole with the head, however high that head may soar in political and forensic spheres.

Another extraordinary assertion, not at all founded in science, occurs again. (p. 41.) "All changes in "the system of nature, are thus periodical, and its PER-"PETUALSTABILITY, is completely secure"—now pure science so far as we know, leads us to no such conclusion: (very interesting we allow, if life was not so short.) That system of "perpetuity" was first imagined 6 or 800 years before the christian era, *i. e.* "that the world is eternal, and had never been created,

* Galimatias means in French, a confused medley of language, conveying no positive meaning, although appearing actually to mean something; a discourse unintelligible to the Author or his readers. "or, that it is to have no end, because it never had a "beginning." "Science on the contrary leads us most probably, if not positively, to look for a beginning, when all matter was in a state of fluidity or rather fluidness:—and for the end, when all fluids shall be in a state of condensation:—no reasoning, no sound argument, can possibly lead us now rationally further than that, because, all reasoning stops (in positive science,) precisely at the point where our faculty of observing facts must cease. No fact, no argument —(such is our motto) "the facts here known are, the observations of Nebulæ, the existence of a fluid, termed Ether, the globes burning in space, and gradually cooling !

Thus continuing to mix up imagination and facts with assumptions, the Discourse makes out, (p. 44,)"the foundation of the inference, that the members "of the body were fashioned for certain uses, by a "maker, well acquainted with their operations, and "willing, that those uses should be served." A very bad argument, to say the least of it, which must become a source of superstition. Since it pre-supposes a Being, acting upon matter in the same way as we should: No—No—from that, to a God, with a human face, there is but one step.

The Discourse justly complains, (p. 59), that the "study of nature, and the operation of the "mind have been unaccountably neglected by Phi-"losophers, and Theologians." We agree in the complaint most earnestly—but, why this branch of the Science has been so long neglected, is by far, the more proper question, for the age we live in; and we actually expected no less, from the grasping mind of the author; he knows full well, that the answer to such questions, must be looked for, in the still endured withering powers over youth and education, of the old system of dogmas, erected upon fiction.

"Among the most remarkable faculties of the "mind, (continues the same page) is the power of "reasoning, or first comparing ideas, and drawing con-"clusions from them:" Why then has reasoning been so long forbidden? Why in his very Society, for the "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," has the author consented, that, reasoning should be *allowed* upon some subjects, and *forbidden* upon others? Is it because, a sufficient number of intellectual gentlemen, without religion, scruples, or, without perplexity of faith, could not have been brought together? if so, then indeed is Old England, yet very poor and very young in the liberty of thought.

One word more, on this half sublime and half ridiculous production, which we half admire, and half regret, because its unfortunate tendency of clearing the road for progress, at the same time that it places new obstacles in our way, is to produce a *Statu quo*, more to be dreaded a thousand times, than open mental revolt, against the shackles put on the mind, by most respectable deceivers.

"Voluntary attention (says, p. 59) being the most "difficult of all acts of the understanding!" that difficulty, we contend, is only apparent, it is the fault of the *matter* and of the *method*, not at all a natural deficiency of the mind. Voluntary attention is the most difficult act, when only the subject given, or the mode of treating it, is not made attractive—but, attention is the most easy, and even, unintentionally absorbing, where the subject or the object upon which attention is required, are congenial to the nature, to the progress of the mind, and suited only, to the natural and noblest faculties of human understanding.

In this important fact, greatly mistaken in this part of the Discourse, lies all the mysteries of our false instructions:-when the mind is not open by proper training-when the teacher has to inculcate his errors; instead of his positive knowledge, then indeed, does attention become next to impossible, then, is the real difficulty, then, the torture of the pupil, or say rather of the *patient* : but, the mind naturally feels its way when the method is good, and the subject rendered attractive: when the understanding is actually at work, and *feels its own* development, attention need not been forced, for then it becomes a real pleasure, and then, only, can it be called Education, or rather eduction-to educe, to call out, to extract, to bring into view, dormant faculties, and on this, we appeal to all sincere disinterested teachers, if any there are, and to all fathers and mothers, who know how to observe while they teach ; watch the expressions of your pupil-his whole countenance, for that expression is of itself all-sufficient to reveal to honest masters, and liberal minded parents, what may be taught to youth. and what should not.-Strike out grammar and the duties founded on mysteries, because both being unintelligible to youth, cause the look of stupidity.

We are the more surprised at our last extract

(p. 59) that in the very next page, (60) the author partly agrees with the above remarks upon it. "Cu-"riosity, or the thirst for knowledge, renders any new "idea, (for a child, all things are new) the source of "attraction, and makes the mind almost involuntarily, "and with gratification, rather than pain, bend and "apply itself to whatever has the quality of novelty "to rouse it." No doubt, that a change of matter, of object, is a pleasure from which the mind always derives fresh vigour and activity, and in that lies the great secret of good methods.

Without entering more into details, our impression is on the whole, that Lord Brougham's object, in publishing his opinion on Theological matters, was, in the *first place*—to upset the grounds of *blind faith* in mysteries, so far as these mysteries rest upon what is called, "*revelation*" made to man by a supposed God, *Creator* of the world, *Governor* and *Judge* of mankind.

Secondly: To spread as much as possible, a general taste, for the study of nature, as the best means now to be recommended of convincing all men, of the existence of some "immense Being," far more intelligent than man himself, without presuming however to determine the place and mode of existence, of that "immense Being."

Thirdly: To convince the priesthood, that they need not to be alarmed in the least, at the opinion he maintains, respecting "revelation," which alone, can lead to absolutely nothing: Since "revelation" can prove nothing further, than, that a man calling himself, a MESSENGER from God, told to other men, such and such things, without their being able to prove the truth of them;—the miracles themselves, which the supposed *Messenger* performed, proving nothing beyond the mere fact, of that messenger having performed them, and without its following, that he came from any one, or that such person or persons, were good or wicked beings, or even, that they had any thing to do with the *Messenger*, or with his miracles. Then says Lord B. to the Priesthood, fear not my words, for I am going to prove the existence of an "*immense benevolent God*," by my natural Theology, in a much more positive way, than you can, by your "revelation," the former being as the great *Bacon* said before, *the necessary key to the latter*.

Thus, both together, natural and revealed religion, may go on more secure, against the attack of "infidelity" and materialism; and depend upon it, you, christian-priests, have now, no other chance of maintaining your power over the mind of man;—whilst, my natural religion may very well stand alone; your supposed, "revelation" alone, has no longer the power of inspiring any faith at all. With me, you can stop the progress of materialism, since I prove the existence of mind, independent of all matter, and with me, you can stop also, the progress of "infidelity," since I prove the presence of the true God, in all natural facts. It is by the study of nature, says he, and by that means only, that you can now convince the human mind of the existence of an "immense Being."

Far then from attacking me—you priests, should support religious reform, and join me, in establishing such a new belief in God, as may be expected to last, notwithstanding the natural progress of the human mind—your revelation, as now taught, will never satisfy, for any length of time, a well-educated people, and then,—what becomes of your boasted system of Church and state, founded, as it is, on the credulity and *blind faith* of ignorant masses?

The Discourse reproaches Doctor Paley with the great omission of not having included the human mind in his Theology, for "this is not only the most instructive branch of natural science, but also, the most wonderful, the most *divine*, and that which alone could lead us naturally to the belief of an *immense* Being, Creator of the Universe."

All this is, however, nothing more than a stale repetition of the old story; matter and mind, body and soul; a dividing of man in two natures, and the erecting of a machinery, by the working of which the material half shall be terrified into blind submission by the invented spiritual one.

Although mere criticism is not our object, we, however, must express our surprise at what appears to us inconsistent, coming from the same pen;— The miracles performed by Jesus Christ, (called the Messenger, in the Discourse,) are said to be no proof in the least of his having been sent by a Supernatural being, *Creator, Governor* and *Judge* of mankind, —nor of the existence of such a being;—agreed:

The human mind will now see nothing in such miracles, beyond the fact that, "one man could do before other men, what these other men could not do." No inference whatever, can be drawn from this, as to the existence of any other being—of his having sent that man—of his having inspired—or of his having given him the power of performing miracles.—Neither can there be any inference drawn from this fact, of a God having performed miracles through that man; the miracles being considered all the while, as having been really performed:—agreed again.—

Now here comes, we believe, the inconsistency.— Another fact is admitted: *i. e. the existence of* the *human mind*—of human intelligence, which appears to Lord B., so wonderfully miraculous, that he actually separates it from nature, and because it appears to him so wonderful, there must be, says he, an "*immense Being*," a vast intelligence far superior to that of man—and that "*immense Being*," *must* have created the world. Is not this as much as to say your messenger was an impostor, for, *I am the true prophet*?

First, assume that *mind* is free and isolated from what is called matter; then, establish what difference you please between matter and mind; call one *passive*, the other *active*; then call God, the active principle;—build up a new system of nature, and your *Cosmogony* will be as complete a mysticism by which to enslave mankind, through primitive ignorance, natural credulity or old prejudices, as any former Cosmogony that ever was invented since man appeared on the earth as a sensitive substance, organized for generating knowledge.

We ask now, where is the difference ?—The book of revelation requires it to be believed, that a few men were inspired by an eternal God, and therefore, that what they said is to be eternal truth. Lord Brougham's natural theology requires it to be believed, that all organized substances (not a few only, as stated in revelation,) manifesting intelligence or mind, or an active principle, have received it from an "immense Being," himself all intelligence, all spirit, all-powerful, in short, another God (only not the revealed one), but equally entitled to devotion, humility, obedience, and submission to his will, as manifested by the laws of nature.

Now this is what the French would call *bonnet blanc*, and *blanc bonnet*; or six of one, and half a dozen of the other. The miracles appeared wonderful to ignorance, the mind of man appears wonderful to Lord Brougham, and thus both parties are led by the wonderful to believe in supernatural powers; hence, whoever denies the god of revelation, must, if we understand what reasoning is, also deny Lord Brougham's God: but enough of this.

One circumstance, however, most clear and positive, connected with this author's opinions is, that he wishes to appear the declared enemy of the materialism of the last century; hence his endeavour to annihilate its metaphysical authors both English and French, by a still further use of endless metaphysical arguments which, to say the least of them, are each and all not only unseasonable, ill-timed, and short of the mental wants of the age, but as far below the present powers of thought, as far behind the present state of knowledge, as the age of *Aristotle* was behind that of *Bacon*.

Yet although Lord Brougham seems thus to follow in the wake, he speaks warmly in favour of the progress of ideas. Does he presume then to limit that progress? Why not rather lend it, in a more decided manner the authority of his name in order to accelerate its march? Why continue to shackle the mind with the primitive idea of a powerful God, inspiring devotion, after he has proved that the effort of "revelation" to inspire the human mind with such a belief, has been vain and unsuccessful? Whom or what is he afraid of-the Clergy, the Court, his own mind, or of his own " immense Being?" No; but perhaps, of telling too much to the people at once, for he seems desirous of stopping all speculation, all ideology respecting his " immense Being;" and this, as a means more certain and less absurd in the present day, than mere blind faith in revelation would be, of maintaining among the ignorant as much of blind humility and blind devotion as might insure the continuance of submission to a bad and too exclusive system of religious and civil regulations, by inculcating a rather more enlightened faith in some God or other, who, though not precisely the God of "revelation," is, however, represented to be equally fond of humility and devotion.

In fine, this clever little book of artful expediency presents not one new idea pregnant with any important results—nothing striking, nothing `capable of creating a strong sensation among the thinking part of the public; yet, most probably, some of the clergy will be alarmed at its publication, and in this respect its appearance must be hailed by the supporters of the liberty of conscience as that of a useful auxiliary. Lord Brougham is an authority with many. *Criticism will do still more good than the book itself*; *believers and infidels will both quote it.* Its perusal will induce many to reflect more seriously upon the nature of their own feelings, as well as upon the *veracity* of the whimsical stories, which, when children, they were crammed with by nurses, and, when adults, by priests and bigoted instructors.

Many of its pages are well calculated to encourage the study of nature; a salutary effect already produced, to a certain extent, by what Lord Brougham had written before, and caused to be written by others.

The withering and benumbing influence of biblical reading will certainly be diminished; for, the book of revelation is here logically discussed by a severe and inflexible attorney, who sees in *words* nothing but *words*; in *things* nothing but *things*; in a supposed divine *Messenger*, nothing but a man; in *miracles*, nothing but *miracles*; whatsover be the authority that performed them, saw them, or reported them. This is undoubtedly the strongest part of the work; it is not here metaphysical, but positive; it even appears that a certain apprehension or fear of having said too much against the God of revelation, had induced the author to conclude his discourse with a few passages from Scripture, and encomiums upon religious devotion. Be this, however, as it may, he has undoubtedly furnished fresh weapons for assaulting "heaven;"—another authority for those whom the clergy stigmatize as "infidel" unbelievers; and so far my Lord Brougham is entitled to our warmest thanks, for, in our opinion, this curious discourse, although ill-timed, may yet be quoted as one most decidedly hostile to the truth of revealed religion, as denying the importance of blind faith in mysteries, —and questioning the supernatural divinity of Christ, still so fondly cherished by his numerous and faithful but infatuated followers.

As to the effect that will be produced, or could be produced, by this new illustration of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology, we have no doubt that it would be far more in favour of mental progress, did it not fall, as in this land it unfortunately does, upon a generation already saturated with old creeds, extensive devotional reading, and biblical education, in the narrow minded sense in which the Scriptures are still taught. This being the case, there are some who believing in God the Father! in Mary the Mother! in God the Son ! and in God the Holy Ghost !" will still quote Brougham's book as an authority for faith, and for remaining stationary in the holy, ignorant expectation of a more happy hereafter -in blessed individual selfishness, "for ever and ever, Amen." Whereas, could the same discourse have appeared among a virgin nation, having no system of sacred books, no mystic education in fiction of any kind, it would have proved a firm and immovable foundation for a new social system, or a new religious creed, greatly in advance of modern idolatry.

Lord Brougham's Deity, it must be admitted, is not absolutely mystic—not SYMBOLICAL. You are to approach it through reason, and through science;—his dogma would be the MYSTERY OF PROGRESS;—his mode of worship, the STUDY OF NATURE.

A new people thus instructed, thus bound together, resting their creed on Brougham's or Paley's natural theology, might well address us Christians in the manner of that extraordinary man *Raspail*,* of Paris:—" We are no infidels, though certainly not believers after your fashion. We follow a philosophy without egotism;—not a blind faith in mysteries, but an enlightened faith without prejudice, and this, through our knowledge of nature.

Our gospel is the universe—it is the gospel of the people, for the people are the children of nature.

Our's is a gospel without Catholicism, which is the child of despotism, of ambition, of intolerance, and the curse of this age.

Our's is a gospel without Protestantism, which is the child of Established ignorance, and of that wilful mysticism which stifles all thought and reason.

The gospel written in organic nature is our law of

* The persecuted author of an admirable work, entitled, "New System of Organic Chemistry."— Baillière, Regentstreet. - French Edition. action—it is our model of social harmony, of that harmony which you Christians are still ignorant of, after eighteen centuries of your symbolical worship.

We never had any faith in that "divine right" by which you are still governed "de facto," though you may vainly boast of its being no longer acknowledged "de jure."

"Your Lords, Masters, and Chiefs are still authorized, nay compelled, to instruct you in the absurd belief that your god is susceptible of insult; as if the "omnipotent Being" of your imagination could ever require the labour or the wealth of a priest, as the means through which to obtain respect from his creatures. Hence, you still look upon the mighty of the earth as representatives of that Being." They who have been collectively entrusted by the mighty Conquerors of man with the making and applying of your laws, are still obliged to take a form of oath "before a God," and through a God, "on mystical books, to a crown, which books they are still compelled to kiss like children, or mental slaves, in the midst of your legislative assemblies, and before part of a bigotted public, who all the while presume to call themselves reformers.

In consequence of the false and frivolous education these legislators have received in their youth, they either do not feel, or dare not express shame, for submitting to an obsolete and now degrading ordeal.

" It follows of course, that the energetic truths, or the severe complaints which the people feel it necessary to address to those sworn dignitaries of the realm, are still punished by you, with the same defamation of character, as were in times of old, the imprecations addressed to the gods, by suffering humanity."

The book of Natural Theology now before us, pretends to distinguish itself from all others by helping you out of the *mire* of *revelation*: but, how! by dragging you mentally through the obscure and crooked road of Metaphysics, in which, centuries back, so many superior minds already lost their way, without ever benefitting mankind one iota.

Not a direct word can be found in the Discourse against the monstrous usurpation of Priest-craft over the mental capacity of man; not a word on the gigantic mission of science to emancipate mankind from the terrors of their own imaginations.

Read it with caution, and trust not its author implicitly, for in spite of his attacks upon "*Revelation*," we have detected, in more than one passage, the *monk's cowl* under the advocate's wig, and lawn sleeve influence under the lawyer's gown.

Let us now listen to sincerity and breathe more freely.

"The knowledge of facts alone, is accessible to "man; we arrive at the knowledge of facts through the "medium of our senses only."

"Has the Universe been created?"

"Has the Inorganic world had a beginning?"

"Has the Organic world had a beginning?"

"How did the Inorganic and Organic world begin?"

25

Such are the contents of a small pamphlet just handed to us. * "A pamphlet in size only."

We rejoice to see such questions proposed, because they are the same as must in all probability have presented themselves naturally to the most profound thinkers of all ages.

Such questions were the first expressions of that Organic wish to know, by inquiry and reflexion: of that Organic want, which stamped from its primitive existence the human species— the first Animal organised for progressive improvement, in order to become superior upon earth, to any other organised substance. Such is MAN.

We look upon the feelings connected with these questions, as the only natural and real foundation of all religious dogmas, invented by superior minds for the use and consolation of mankind, before the time that any experience and utility could have been derived from the subsequent knowledge of facts.

The natural instinct of the human species was such from the beginning, that any kind of fiction presented as an answer to those questions, supplied for the time being the want of some better system of knowledge, until the repeated inquiries of the future generations of mankind by brooding intellectually over the majestic book of nature could produce new systems of positive knowledge which, by giving a new conviction to the mind, should gradually neutralize, supersede or displace for ever, blind faith in the good old dogmas—though in themselves all-sufficient to establish

* *Two words*" on Lord Brougham's Natural Theology, by A. C. G. Jobert ; E.Bull, 19, Holles Street.

and maintain a *prospective* view of happiness and justice, for a progressive animal, compelled to pass through ages in total ignorance of himself, and of the physical laws which are continually in sensitive action.

We hail the appearance of this curious and instructive pamphlet, and sincerely hope that it may be perused by all the readers of the Discourse on Natural Theology; under the modest title of "*Two words*:" it creates new feelings and contains new ideas—at present most necessary to be felt and discussed. It has certainly refuted with success, the fundamental arguments of Lord Brougham and Paley, and has moreover, the rare merit of comprising in the short space of 36 pages, more interesting matter of useful reflexion, written in a popular style, by a real friend of the people of all nations, than any other work ever did before to our knowledge.

Yet, we are bound to notice what appears to us incomplete in it, or if complete, rather inconsistent:

From page 10, the Author seems to be quite aware of the object of the Discourse to establish—" that all "natural phenomena being attributes of the Deity, it "is principally by an investigation of them *that we* " arrive at the knowledge of a God, and learn how to " adore him."

On this Mr. Jobert states (p. 11.) his own convictions, "that the notion of God as conveyed by the ar-"gument of Brougham and Paley, is an obstacle to "improvement—a source of error and superstition." —Agreed. Further on (p.28.) we read "the idea of the workman "who made the watch would lead me to the idea "of an organised being, who employed hands, eyes, "and an intellectual power, an organ of thought," but to argue in the same manner, in order to explain the production of a living animal, "would be to ima-"gine a God with senses, with organs—brains; in short, a human God, a "monstrous God."—agreed again. Here then Mr. Jobert objects both, to the nature of the God and to the mode of arriving at a knowledge of him.

But now, coming to (p. 35.), Mr. Jobert tells us himself, that "it is through the knowledge of these "facts alone, that we can come to the knowledge of "the Deity."

Is not this precisely what the Discourse on Natural Theology wishes to establish? and here Mr. Jobert acknowledges also, the existence of a God, as proved by the phenomena of nature.—Since the knowledge of these phenomena are to lead us to a Deity. Either then, there is contradiction: or Mr. Jobert's God, is not the same as Lord Brougham's God.

Mr. Jobert says, (p. 10), but it is "evident that the "progress of the mind under its influence, (the belief "in God) will go no further than religious creeds— "which will form of necessity, the limits of the deve-"lopment of the human intellect." Here then he objects most decidedly to the notions of a God, as he does equally (p. 11), when he complains of its *being a source of error and superstition*. We repeat then, that Mr. Jobert's Deity, cannot be the same as Lord Brougham's God—for we can see no other way by which to avoid the apparent contradiction between dreading the consequences of a belief in the God of the Discourse, and conveying at the same time, the very same identical notions. We are therefore led to admit the curious idea, that Lord B.'s God could be a source of error and superstition, but Mr. Jobert's God not so.

We fear that in this, as in some other instances, the author's meaning has been sacrificed to the publisher's pusillanimity, who may very likely have said to Mr. Jobert, "*I will print so far but no further*;" and that most probably we are not yet in possession of Mr. Jobert's idea fully developed.

In the mean time, we may perhaps be allowed to congratulate the saints of all shades and colours, upon the *prolific efforts* of thought, which in less than three months, have conceived for them two new Gods, neither of whom is the God of "*revelation*."

Are we doomed, then, under the law of mental progress, to believe in a new and singular Trinity, consisting of

The God of Revelation ;

The God of Lord Brougham and Archdeacon Paley; The God of Mr. Jobert ;

If really so, would it not, then, be high time to move by way of an amendment in the forms of the oath under which our future law-makers, compelled as usual to kiss the book, should be required to add the following words,—" Be it further understood by all present, " that by the word God we mean the old God of " revelation," and nowise and never the God of

PUBLISHERS

"Lord Brougham, nor the God of Jobert, nor any other God not yet concocted, or if concocted in "some brains or other, not yet introduced to the "public." For our part, we should prefer Mr. Jobert's God, and for this reason, that we anticipate from his new work in the press "the his-"tory of the earth before the appearance of man," some definition of the word God, intelligible to all understandings, which will reconcile all sects, and put an end for ever to religious controversies, which, to say the least of their vast influence upon society, create animosities without real cause, and retard the progress of rational civilization.

Are we, then, to have a new God with every new system? Why should every new theory, every instructive and learned investigation of nature, published in this country, be obscured by abstract notions of blind faith, which belong of right and exclusively to primitive ignorance ?---Why should a series of true facts presented in all their simplicity to reason, be so incessantly marred by invented fiction, the most ridiculous arguments being put in requisition by most authors, even to this day, in order to establish some forced and monstrous connexion between what must ultimately be forgotten if we wish rightly to understand the mental progress, and what must be felt to promote the good it is pregnant with? Why? But that unfortunately publishers and booksellers are mentally fettered and morally bound to pamper an ignorant public with error and prejudice? Take your MS. to them, and consult them upon the publication of a new, important, and scientific work,

consisting purely and plainly of man's questions on one side, and of nature's answers on the other, will they not say to you .- "True, sir, very profound thought-" rational all through-full of most important facts " very well written, indeed-strong in conviction-" most conclusive, therefore most useful! but depend " upon it, unless you make such alterations as will " show the wisdom of God, his goodness, and connect " a little more your matter with our divine religion, " so that our clergy may recommend it, the book will "never sell in England, and therefore we cannot " undertake its publication." . . Very well, we admit that under such impression, and with such preposterous hindrances and scruples hanging about them, no publisher can undertake any work really useful to the people, in a national point of view : but we contend, that, however necessary this might have been in time past, it is no longer so now; that, only to break through that pretended power must annihilate it for ever, since it is now admitted that it is no longer to be supported by the sword and bayonet; no, not even in Ireland. Thus, the day is come for an independent publisher to immortalise his name, by boldly sounding the trumpet for a decided reform in literature, and abandoning all fictions, whether in Novels, Romances, or Religion, for the more truly useful productions of real Scientific knowledge, written in a popular manner for all classes of readers.

We do not here speak of mere books of Science, of those published *full* as they are *of restrictions on the mind*. We have already but too many for the learned, the professional man, or the student.—We mean the publication of moral and political works, connected with our every day life—with a scientific basis, and no other; such as would establish, for instance, our WANTS, on the facts of our organization, our DUTIES, as social beings, on the natural feelings resulting from those wants,—and our POLITICAL RIGHTS as Freemen, established on the natural consequence, both, of having acquired the knowledge of our wants, and that of our moral duties, through natural experience and knowledge.

In the days of Metaphysical Discussion, it was merely permitted to doubt: in still more remote periods, ignorance was compelled to believe in spite of reason and common sense; but, in the present day, man is not only no longer required to believe against his conviction, or merely *permitted* to doubt, but his duty as an intelligent being, on whom education must soon be freely bestowed, is to look, to observe, to know of himself and to speak from his own conviction, whatever that conviction may be.

Away then with all symbolical worship, and from thatmoment disappear with it, all impiety and blasphemy—since these become impossible, being then mere words without sense. Reason will then at last direct the helm, and legislators unshackled, will speak out all their thoughts, without fear or pusillanimity; for, be assured? "Symbolical superstition, is to the intellectual and enlightened man; what feudality, is to the political and social man;—*

* Philosophy of Revelations:

These two sources of servitude, mental and corporeal, constituted in past ages, the long and cruel barbarism of mankind, which the knowledge and the liberty of the present time have the mission of annihilating for ever—know then your century.—

Far, however, from blaming the past, as it has been the fashion for more than a century, we believe that all its mistakes and errors are entitled to our gratitude, and should be duly appreciated; for it was "nature all through" that having generated the *animal* MAN, conducted him step by step until he attained his present condition (in Europe at least) of being all but *ripe* for a more rapid and more generally useful development of his intellectual powers, which as a continuation of mental progress, nature has manifested upon earth through human organization.

Therefore, the question of all questions for the age is:-why has man ever been so credulous?-Whence that curiosity ?---Whence that thirst for knowledge ?-Has its great mission been ever yet well understood ?-Does it not explain quite naturally, the organic want of ignorance, to obtain some knowledge, or some sort of system. Can we not trace there, the mysteries of blind faith-its tenacity in ignorance? its vast influence on humanity, first, for good, then for evil? hence (we have not the least doubt) the ignorance of all ancient nations and their blind faith in the cosmogonies of their priests and philosophers, Hence also, the belief of modern ignorance in all the dogmas erected on, or deduced from, those very cosmogonies. .

Blind Faith has been, we repeat it, the FIRST STEP

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of Curiosity—the first expression of a thirst for knowledge, according to the organic law of progress.— *Blind Faith* was therefore, in the beginning, the *Cradle* of all the Sciences for which man was organised, and nothing more; but, positive science is now on its legs—it walks alone—it runs, nay, more, it now takes gigantic strides, and even begins to sap the old orthodox foundation of every Government.

HINTS ON EDUCATION.

Is it not then time to abandon the Cradle and the mystic nurse, to those who still, deprived of a rational education, stand in need of them to sooth and to guide their ignorance; is it not time, we ask, to abrogate all the laws which, however indirectly, still enforce the appearance of respect and submission to them, on the part of those who, more advanced, have shaken off these trammels of credulity: for there is an invisible power, generated by the organs of thought in human organization, which is progressive in its irresistible influence on the condition of mankind. Far from longer delaying the education of all the children of the people, the knowledge of every really useful truth must be spread as quickly as possible in every direction, so as to extinguish fanaticism, and annihilate those superstitious ideas which still degrade society, even in the sanctuary of legislation. Whatever be your efforts, whatever your zeal to accomplish so necessary a reform, its progress can be but very slow indeed, when we consider the very deep root which prejudices have been allowed to take in this land of modern Cyclops--a people we maintain, without fear of contradiction, the least advanced of any nation in Europe, with regard to freedom of thought, or individual mental liberty, although the very first,—no one disputes, in the training of the brute, and in all the working and shapings of mineral and vegetable substances.

The only way in which to account for a retarding influence so singular in itself, and so afflicting for the progress of the nation in intellectual development, (although compensated for in some degree by mechanical and mercantile powers, which once baffled all competitors) is by reflecting on the fact, that in England, all private and public education still remains almost exclusively under the control of a respectable but too narrow-minded priesthood, although it is generally known, and publicly admitted, that credulity, ignorance and prejudice among the people, are the best safeguards of that powerful party.

- "Les Prêtres ne sont point ce qu'un vain peuple pense

"Votre crédulité fait toute leur Science."

Wherefore that delay in the legislation about a general and rational education—who is he, that has any thing to fear? Can property be more secure when surrounded, as it is, by ignorant semi-barbarism, than when all shall evince that moral sense of rectitude, which knowledge bestows with far more success than mere preaching and obsolete exhortation ever will? Dare you presume still to say that the people are not prepared to listen to you? Do they not show on the contrary their thirst for new knowledge? Mistake not the present symptoms—what better proofs can you wish for, than their continual divisions and subdivision into sects, under a priesthood too often compelled to mystify their knowledge of nature, to supply the real wants of education in the present era of our Civilization?

Can their Sectarian paper war ever open the mind of the people to useful and practical knowledge?— Their millions and billions of tracts, their sermons forced upon us in the streets (in which you may now hear hundreds of *Mawworms* in agony,) would suffice to fill, nay would block up your market places with ridiculous trashy twaddle, concocted in a mystic jargon, the reading of which will make your grand children blush for their fathers' ignorance and fanaticism.

Yet not a week passes, but some new pretended proofs of the truth of christianity are imagined, or old ones again compiled, and promulgated by troops of young *achorets* for obtaining a holy name or a well supplied larder;—scarcely a month passes but some new "Life of Christ just published," is exposed for sale in proof of a *divine* mission which learning disproves, and common sense denies.

Say now, is it enough, amidst such powerful extinguishers of thought and enquiry, to ridicule "revelation," and preach up a new metaphysical God in nature? No, no, your "*immense being*," my Lord, filling up space, and metaphysically separated from matter,—yet ever acting upon it, does after all, but modify the feeling of Mysticism, by forging new patent chains for the mind of the people, after the old ones corroded by rust, or loosened and worn out by the continued efforts of the *giant 'prisoner* to break them asunder, alarm you, lest political injustice and legal plunder should lose their main prop—Mystification.—No, it is not enough to throw discredit upon "Revelation." It is not even enough, in this age of struggles against old interests and old prejudices, to encourage the diffusion of positive knowledge among the people; but what has been done, and what is still daily doing against the mental faculties of adult youth, must be opposed and undone.

Make them understand, that the ancient theory of some future rewards and punishment is but the deductions, natural enough, of a barbarous social condition maintaining inequality and servitude in the darkness of ignorance. Tell them, that in such a state, notions of a providential imaginary remuneration and of real justice (not yet found upon earth,) are the most easy to be propagated because of the natural instinct of curiosity, because of the organic wish for some system of knowledge : a want of the human species, implanted by nature in the first *animal* organized upon earth, with a capacity for mental progress.

"The indigent poor, bent beneath the stigma of misery and of want—crushed by the insolent prosperity of his wealthy oppressors, naturally credits them with avidity."

"We should not contest their relative moral and

temporary utility were it not for their consequences which strengthen and perpetuate the degrading servitude which they *pretend to soften* by perpetually repeating the same old dreams of consolation to come, and of chimerical felicity "hereafter."

"The Egyptian priesthood who were the first to propagate them, had only imagined them for that very purpose."

"It is not in the nature of any sacerdotal power, (now the most iniquitous of all aristocracies) to believe the possibility of promoting on earth actual and pure justice for the people; and this is the reason why, they so constantly, so loudly and so haughtily invoke the justice of their supposed God in heaven."*

Speaking to those who profess to be the true friends of the people, and who sincerely wish for their education, we would warn them that it is no longer, as in times of yore, by a well managed deception—by a calculated kindness—by Christian piety by the Christian hope of a future life, in short by Christian precepts and exhortations, that they can expect to gain their confidence, or to ensure their continued submission, to social injustice, masked as it is by a forced charity, separated from the Church.

All this might be well and good when the people taught in fiction only, were required and compelled to *believe* it, but now, that the people of all Europe, modified by time according to the irresistible law of mental progress, manifest every where a wish to be really and truly educated, faith in fiction must inevitably lose its influence over all those who shall taste

* Philosophy of revelations.

of positive knowledge and feel its attractive influence; the history of mankind heretofore written *for* them to make them believe, must soon be written by themselves, to make them at last know: and some new basis, of thought and action, some new social link resting upon physical sciences will be found through the power of knowledge, that will completely satisfy the heart, without perplexing and torturing the mind.

Many there are, no doubt, at this very moment, who lament the sacrilegious murders committed in Spain upon lazy Monks and Friars—let such pause, and reflect upon the murders and burnings committed a few centuries back, upon old British Druids, by the Roman Soldiers :—were there not then in this very land thousands who lamented the cruelty and sacrilege of those times, who must have prophesied the end of all morality, of all virtue, and of all religion? and yet, consider—have not their descendants to this day, found their ignorance of nature, as much soothed and comforted, under the new worship of the cross, as our forefathers found their ignorance of nature, soothed and comforted, under the worship of the oak.

In these horrors, the Philosopher can see nothing but the law of mental progress opposed by ignorance: all, all, are compelled to move on, according to the mental wants of human organization, which increase age after age. Human nature is gradually modified, under the gradual changes of the human *substance*, by the necessary and constant process of assimulation: but, as to written books and written dogmas, which cannot in like manner assimilate, they remain naturally behind the age, and must therefore sooner or later, be laid upon the shelf; hence it is the deficiency of our legislators in the knowledge of nature, that creates all our social difficulties.

Should an infatuated power presume to dictate and to assert that it must be otherwise,—moral *thunders* and mental *earthquakes* must inevitably ensue, for nature is a dangerous enemy to contend with, in ignorance; however docile, manageable and subservient it must be when controled by the positive knowledge of man.

Instead of interminable disputes about some little differences in imaginary shades of faith, we urge the people to reflect more seriously on the nature of the inward feeling, which, during a state of ignorance compels them to believe.

What then are all religions?

Superstition, systematized; the result of a persuasion obtained or acquired through early instructions in error.

What is it then to be persuaded?

It is to be impressed, to receive an impression—and in whatever manner that impression is communicated: whether, by the external world, or by a sensitive substance acting upon another sensitive substance: that impression could never be made without the existence of some organ to receive and manifest it : who then shall dare to deny that all Religions are the mere result of an organic want requiring rather to be satisfied, in spite of the Priest than desiring to be controled by his orthodoxy.

Long and serious reflection on the curious but indubitable fact, that nothing like general good has resulted from all which has been said, written, and published against the pernicious effects of superstition, from the time of PLUTARCH and THEOPHRArus, * down to our own----having convinced us that it must have been in the very nature of the animal man to cherish superstition and to cling to it, so long as his intellectual faculties were not or could not be cultivated ; we have come to the conclusion, that Reason, Common Sense, and Sound Judgment, require the existence of something positive-such as the acquisition of mental conviction from well ascertained facts, before those faculties can be called into action, so effectually as to be of any avail against credulity and superstition.

The physical sciences alone could supply the knowledge of those facts and furnish that conviction before which superstition is ever found to retreat, without any of that obstinate resistance, it so promptly, and fearlessly opposes, when its only assailants are denial, ridicule or persecution.

Hence it is our decided conviction, that the feeling of superstition, by which some have been exalted so high and others degraded so low in the estimation of all sound and unprejudiced minds, is naturally generated in the sensitive organization of the progressive animal, called man, precisely in the same manner as

* Plutarchus and Theophrastus on Superstition. Translated and Printed by Julian Hibbert, No. 1, Fitzroy place, Kentish Town.—1828, any other of his feelings are generated.—Superstition is nought but an organic want felt by ignorance.

The philosophy of blind faith in all the religious creeds of the world, may now assume a much higher ground for questioning the utility of the Dogmas of the day, than Metaphysics, or Natural Theology can pretend to.

The only effect produced upon many believers by the bitter sarcasm, the keen invective and the severe but too often (it must be owned) undeserved reproach of the injudicious Sceptic or infidel, has been that of increasing their blind zeal for their symbolical worship, instead of inducing them, as well as their superiors to reflect calmly and seriously upon the origin nature, and expediency of the *feeling* of *faith*, abstractedly from the particular creed or dogmas which they were trained to believe in, long before their discriminating faculties could have been exercised by inquiry, observation and comparison.

Ascertain then, what your religious faith is in itself;—endeavour to trace its origin, its power, its influence, its mission, as connected with the continued progress of mankind; and you will soon find the true key—the law of Nature, the real but temporary utility of all Symbolical Worship,

After more than thirty years' observations, reflexions, researches, and comparisons, it is our conviction, that religious faith, can be nothing more, nor less, than a feeling proceeding from the internal want of human organization to obtain some knowledge: the want being satisfied, when a sufficient degree of knowledge is acquired. Hence it is explained why and how all errors have successively passed for truths until some new *truths* which inspired more faith, condemned the former *truths* as errors and so on and so on—must the mental progress still continue.

The same desire, the same natural want, has constantly discovered itself in all inhabited countries by a belief or faith in the religious dogmas. These dogmas by palming upon credulous ignorance, cunningly devised cosmogonies or systems of nature more or less ingenious or possible, in the place of positive facts, satisfied in this manner, the most urgent want of a sensitive and progressive being. These systems became the very first social links of mankind, binding together large communities under one faith and separating the human race into as many different nations as there were different religious creeds arising from those cosmogonies. A circumstance equally beneficial to the primitive ages as to the barbarous ones.

These Cosmogonies, Dogmas, or systems of nature being the first step which ignorance made in the continued progress of mankind towards the superior intelligence to be acquired by real and positive knowledge, for which knowledge primitive man although then in the lowest degree of the progressive scale, was as well organized as the man of to-day—are entitled to our respect and veneration as being so many records of the first efforts of the human mind to palliate, satisfy, or supply the universal want felt by ignorance, at a time when the sciences, the daughters of observation and experiment were yet unattainable, and when even those natural phenomena observable by all, could not without the subsequent assistance of time be divested of their awe and fear inspiring character, by being rendered familiar and intelligible.

Of the numerous creeds or persuasions, which have successively blessed and cursed the necessary ignorance, semi-barbarism, and even the civilization of human society, we do not mean to speak here otherwise, than to express our decided opinion, as to the impropriety of allowing any one of them to be henceforth made the basis of a liberal education. And this because we do not perceive one of the present Sectarian creeds to have any thing of sense, of meaning, of utility, or even of truth, that can harmonize with our mental faculties ;---they may work well as matter of mere instruction ; they may well continue to be, as they have been for ages, matter of persuasion, when and where nothing being actually known, nothing else could be taught----but as they do not speak to our understanding they must, so far from being useful, prove excessively detrimental to real education.

"As to the contrary opinions founded upon blind faith, we respect without believing them. If decepptive illusions are still capable of making other men happy, it would evince but little wisdom to reject them with intolerance merely because we ourselves are happier by means of reality."

"To make use of human passion in opposing human errors, will never lead to conviction. If wars are to cease against "material" interests, still more should they cease against "immaterial" ones. Such is we hope the motto of the generation just now rising to purify "itself from the slime and filth of the civilization in which we live."

Without agreeing, however, about the present intrinsic merit of illusions or religions—we cannot deny that they must all rest upon some reality;—there must be a real fact in the human organization common to all superstitious creeds, and without which, no religion could ever have been taught or even known.

This fact, common to all sects, to all creeds, to all Dogmas of faith, is termed by some the "Mystic Sense," by others the "religious fibre," but we should rather say the "religious feeling, impressed by the organ of credulity"* without which no priesthood in the world could ever have been wanted.—Thus we greatly simplify the question respecting the temporary truth and present utility of religious instruction: —for, although we deny the truth of every mysterious faith, we nevertheless have two physical facts inseparable from all religions: first, the religious feeling impressed by the organ of credulity; and secondly, the existence of a priesthood in all past ages.

Let us now see whether, by some analysis, we cannot prove from the present relation of these two facts with modern improved Society, that a religious education is not only useless but highly detrimental.

What then is the religious feeling? The religious feeling is no other than the expression of an organic want:—a natural instinct within man—a desire, a

* Perhaps Phrenologists do well to call it the organ of Veneration, on account for the still prevailing opinion, that, to call it by its true name, might offend a Divinity.

wish to know something about the facts, which he feels must have preceded the existing order of the tangible and visible nature by which he is not only surrounded but constantly impressed and modified;if so-(and we doubt it not) the facts ascertained by modern science must compel us whether we will or not, to confess even to our shame and degradation, that,---"the nations of antiquity who worshipped the sun or fire, were nearer the truth in matters of faith than Christians are at this day;-and were therefore, far less given to superstition or idolatry' than are the people of more modern times who still prostrate themselves before a painted image-a wooden cross-a printed book-a brass or bronze Figureor who repeatedly bend in assumed humility at the invocation of a *name*."

After the organic want—the instinctive wish of human organization: came the priest—for none we hope are stupid enough to imagine that he was the antecedent fact:—

What then, was the Priest?

The Priest was undoubtedly the first director, master, and ruler of human society—the first generator of thought among mankind;—he alone could subdue ignorance through persuasion;----with his Cosmogonies, his imagined system of nature, he fully satisfied the instinctive wish to know and the organic want of a sensitive being *in ignorance*, a being who deprived of the means of observation, research, experience and comparison, (which time alone could build up into real science) required then no better proof than mystical *words* like *Fii*, *Yao*, *Vishnou*,

Brahma, Zeus, Theos, Yehou, Jehora, Deus, God, Spirit, Lord or "immense Being," and for this very good reason----that the priest never had or could have any other proof to give----nor could he demonstrate what he advanced as truth, so as to satisfy the better understanding of men;---had he been able to do so---- the harmony between mind and the science of the priest would then have existed --- and blind faith which disclaims all harmony, would never have been required. Now it is precisely because Mystical instruction was required for credulity when and where nothing was known, nothing positive was taught, and nothing real could be demonstrated, that we hold it to be injudicious, and religious faith to be impossible, when and where the physical sciences bring such abundance of conviction to the mind, that positive knowledge and the demonstration of reality, supersede in the human organization when cultivated and developed, the urgent want of faith felt only in its more rude and more barren state of existence.

It is far, however, from our intention to insult or vilify the priesthood of any age, nor can we incur their censure for thinking of their holy calling as we do----it is the LAW of MENTAL CONTINUED PROGRESS they have now to grapple with, and welcome they are are to stop it *if they can*;----their mission we believe to be accomplished from the moment that physical science can be taught to the people at large, and we see no salvation for them but in gradually discarding fictions from their pulpit, and expounding physical facts in competition with our Scientific lecturers whom we look upon decidedly as the first priests of the NEW SANCTUARY of THOUGHT.----

One or two questions more and we have done with holy fictions.---Did not the priesthood of past ages possess and monopolize all science? Certainly, and their superior knowledge gave them superior power.

Do the present priesthood of Europe possess now the knowledge that gives power? Let the answer be made by the physical sciences, by the Mechanics Institutions, by the Stock Exchange, by Steam, by Machinery, by Gas, by Rail-roads, by Atmospheric pressure and by Monopoly, for each and all of these are the true radical reformers of our time.

It is our impression also, that he who devotes his life to "Seeking after God," as it is curiously termed, acts precisely like a madman, who supposing himself lost, would set off to look for himself, over the earth and through space: for, all the while, he is actually the self generator of the idea which he pursues—it is merely attempting to realize or to personify a natural feeling * which feeling or impression is nothing more than a quality, an instinct, a product, of some organized matter, performing certain functions according to a series of laws, constituting what is called human life:---an organized sensitive substance seeking for positive science before sufficient

* "No doubt, says the Chinese Mandarin, that there is in nature a powerful principle of *motion* and *order* totally unknown to what is—but to make a Deity of that unknown principle, so as to say that the "*universe is the creation of a God*," is nothing more than deifying human ignorance."*

* Helvetius de l'homme. Sect : 2. ch. 2. p. 96, 97. Tom. 3.

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culture, time and observation could manifest upon earth the superior intelligence of knowledge in reality. We must also protest against the mystic theory of life and death. The functions of life are such in man and woman (as well as in other animals*) that a certain period of time, or a too sudden modification of the substance from one state to another, (as for instance a sudden loss or gain, very bad or very good news abruptly made known,) may suspend them for ever in an instant; the organized matter, or the human substance, then ceases all functions, which, according to the laws of life, had produced sensitive intelligence, reason, thought, instinct :--- organic matter is then submitted to a series of other laws, which, while they manifest and constitute what is called dissolution, death, originate a fresh series of lives --- a transformation-a transmutation----a supply to some other organizing process; thus it is, that through chemical agency, all is in all.

Intelligence to perform such natural transformations is, therefore, ever present in all matter, and may consequently be justly called a *quality of matter*, or one of its qualities amongst many others; but because, forsooth, it escapes our notice, because the manifestation of intelligence, or *mind*, *soul*, *spirit*, (call it what you will) is not so evident to our senses in the act of the morbid dissolution of all organized

* A mouse for instance has been found dead through grief, (itself unhurt) lying upon the trap, by which its five young had been suddenly caught and strangled; some dogs have died of grief on their master's grave; pigeons show their grief in the most expressive manner; female swans in a state of widowhood shew their grief by separating from the society of their species. substances as it is in the act of sensitive life; the ignorance of former times assumed, and *interested motives* still perpetuate the error, that, when the faculty of assimilation ceases in any *human substance* so as to cause death---a certain spirit or soul has actually departed from it.

It had also been invented and assumed as fact, that such spirit or soul had been blown into matter by a "God, Creator and Governor" of the universe, and assumed besides, to complete a mystic system for the credulity of ignorance,---that death was caused by the said creator actually calling back to him that spirit or soul in order to reward or punish it, according to certain laws made by him—why then in the name of truth and common sense, not admit the same for all other animals, plants, crystals and metals, where and within which intelligence, soul, or spirit, is manifested, though in a different and lesser degree, and with which the power of growth and development ceasing, decomposition or death ensues, on the very same principles. *

All such false and foolish notions serving as a basis for the education of youth tend to perpetuate

* "The powers of the magnet, and other electrical phenomena are no less wonderful to our mind than human intelligence. The action of chlorine gas upon the metals, so as to produce, spontaneously, heat and light ;—the definite multiple and proportional combination of the atoms—their powers of choosing and refusing, as if each atom could see, and select one shape of atoms in preference to another, and count the exact number with which it can unite ; are all powers, qualities, properties no less astonishing than the actions of the beings called intelligent."--The Revolution of Philosophy, by R. Whaley--Manchester. superstition----through superstition, fear and prostration of mind----and through prostration of mind, the perpetuation of the servitude of man.

In the name of this advanced age, what useful knowledge, for instance, can we derive from the ancient doctrine respecting "soul or mind," (p. 263.) is not the very word "doctrine," become offensive to all rational hearers, and besides, have we lost all power of ratiocination ? Is there no instinct left in the organic world for us to listen to ?---- Can we not on the contrary, investigate, examine, and question ourselves with far greater facilities of observation, with far more positive knowledge of man's organization, and with far greater variety of improved means to direct the sagacity of our inquiries, than could possibly have been available by any of the philosophers of antiquity ---- however worthy of our praise and admiration, their "Doctrines" may be, considering the age in which those doctrines were conceived.

Again in the name of all known *positive facts*, what can we now learn or teach from "ancient doctrine," respecting a "Deity and matter?" (p. 266.)

Are then all modern notions about *Matter* and *Deity* of no value? Are they already to be considered obsolete? If so, are the ancients to be revived? Is faith then to be reinforced according to the most ancient cosmogonies? But faith has ever been blind and stationary,----whilst modern positive knowledge is all powerful and progressive. Physics are at last preparing to throw metaphysics overboard, to banish for ever superstition, that old tyrant who strikes terror into THOUGHT, whenever and wherever it gives any symptoms of becoming expansive.

In order to study MAN, what have we to do at this period of human existence with any metaphysical hypothesis? Such early wanderings of bewildered imaginations might be tolerated in the ancient philosopher, who, comparatively, in profound ignorance of of the physical truths of geology----of comparative anatomy, of animal and vegetable physiology----of phrenology, and still more so, of the NEW SYSTEM of ORGANIC CHEMISTRY, may easily be conceived to have been lost in amazement, when contrasting the superiority of human thought with the powers, qualities, or properties, of all other organized substances---but since his day, enough has been ascertained to warrant us to go onwards from the known, to what is yet unknown, without need for "wonder."

Such bookish reminiscenses are now uncalled for--because totally useless for promoting intellectual development; to diffuse them again among the people can have no other tendency than to prove how far, even a Master mind,—such as that possessed by the author of the "Discourse,"-may not only be led into errors itself, but mislead others also, by pursuing the ancient and obsolete assumptions of matter and mind, independently and separately from each otherinstead of grounding all his arguments on the now well-known physical facts, which compel our reason to consider human nature as nothing more than a sensitive substance of the first order, so organized as to manifest a progressive development through successive periods of time, and to admit, at all periods, of numberless modifications through the variety of surrounding circumstances.

In this conviction the study of MAN, by MAN, with none but useful and practical results in view, will be confined within a simple inquiry as to the nature of those circumstances the best adapted to his organization, and the mode of satisfying each of its wants, without injury to another. Call him then "matter" or "mind"-describe him again if you will, as a most "wonderful" "compound" of both,-this does not alter the fact, for, you never can have any thing to act upon but man and woman as they must appear to all unprejudiced observers i.e. NATURAL SENSITIVE SUBSTANCES, ORGANIZED WITH FACULTIES CAPABLE OF MENTAL PROGRESS; whilst, on the contrary, your tottering "Eternal truths" would if possible eternally stigmatize the nobler of those faculties, by continuing to sanction the most barbarous cruelties perpetrated through the hatred actually taught, by Sectarian bigotism : witness Ireland.*

* " Our hearty wish is, that those dreadful days of bigotry, and of its inseparable associate, cruelty, may be obliterated from men's thoughts, or remembered only as examples to be hated and eschewed. The Presbyterian and Episcopalian are now as one," (as far as the power of both to crush thought in the bud,) -"differing in form rather than in principle; equally tolerant of each other's mode of discipline, and equally haters of all tyranny, especially of that frightful monster of POLITICO-RELIGIOUS TYRANNY, which would, by means of BLIND IGNO-RANCE and SUPERSTITIOUS TERROR, make even the devout conscience of the disciple the motive and instrument of his crimes against those whom he is taught to believe his enemies." (See the "Times," of January the 14th, 1836 .- The same day's paper is also worth perusing for the curious remarks on a document purporting to be a memorial addressed to Lord J. Russell, by the Ministers and Elders of the united associate No—no,—to watch the march of that MENTAL PROGRESS—to foresee, as far as possible, its influence upon society as a whole—and to administer to all the new wants, generated by new social modifications should, in spite of Episcocracy, be the only "Sacred" duties of modern legislators familiar with the physical world.

In the name, then, of liberal education and MUNDANE HAPPINESS FOR ALL CLASSES, acknowledged now to be the only sound basis for the stability of mixed governments, —why republish "the ancient doctrine on the immortality of the soul, and a future state," (p. 273 and 281.) when it is taught and known almost every where, that all your "matter" is (for the human brain) equally immortal—being subject only to transformation or transfusion.

That those "ancient doctrines" and the dogmas of faith erected upon them, have done much good —no one denies,—but only as *temporary and consolatory notions well adapted in their day to ignorance*; when all the people poor, helpless, and patient, consented to believe they were doomed *for ever* to drag on a life of incessant toil,—either, in servile bondage, as it still exists in Turkey and Russia, or in moral degradation and *increasing* difficulties under a

Synod of the Secession Church of Scotland, signed by their Moderator, *Adam Thompson*.

Now this reads well against bigoted cruelty and *superstition*, but then comes an advertisement for—what think you reader ? Why, for a "Child's caul to be sold for 15 guineas, apply at William Street, Regent's Park," (*Times* of 28th Jan.) thus lending itself to keep up a superstition as old as the Druids, and this in the would be thought to be the first paper of Europe !!! more modern mixed system of mystified liberty; but now, that human intelligence has taught mankind how to manage and coerce the physical world, how to direct all the elements, and the inexhaustible forces of nature!—how to make them labour FOR HIM, upon all the substances within his reach :—now that moral unions guided by positive knowledge could make of this earth a sensitive "paradise:"—* the human species has in reality little to learn, because it has little to care about your mystifying immortality, or "eternal bliss," in a supposed or even in a "real" future state of individual existence after death.

If the notions of a future state of bliss through the immortality of a portion, only, of man, have been so generally entertained in all parts of the earth, and have always actually belonged to a state of ignorance under every denomination and degree of superstition, they must only be viewed by philosophy as the prospective provision of a natural instinct in human organization, secretly suggesting to a progressive sensitive substance, that a time would come when all mankind could be made more comfortable and more happy than they actually were.--Cry out as loudly as you please "Utopia," "Utopia:"-human science, we contend, has the mission of realizing the secret organic whisper,-the fondest hope of our nature-for, the obstacles to its realization upon earth are now but few and fragile-they only lie hidden under the tem-

* "Paradise within the reach of all men without labour," by the power of *machinery and nature*, by T. A. ETZLER, Pitsburgh, Pensylvania.—Republished by Brooks, 421, Oxford St. porary laws of inheritance in legislation, under property qualification,—under a most ridiculous system of a shackled currency forcibly contracted when all around expands, and under the thick veil of mysticism that has too long disguised and still presumes to mask for ever, all the existing social vices, as if TIME and THOUGHT were not the irresistible reformers of all the most sacred usurpations and abuses.*

Moreover, a discourse on theology, published in our own time should not have passed over in silence SUPERSITION,----that great grand mother of all theologies----and if the ancient doctrine about a Deity, "immortality of the soul," in a "future state" &c. are now to be *illustrated for* the people, the opinions of the ancients on Christianity or superstition, should also in equity be laid before them such, for instance, as a short note upon the 16th chapter of the characters of THEOPHRASTUS—upon

The fourteen articles of PLUTARCHUS, on superstition—upon

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, † who designates the first Christians as "a race of men, of a new and *pernicious* superstition,"—upon

* "Your dignity is well assured, and your power is well settled: but the power and dignity and authority of no body of men either in these or in any other times, was never so settled or secured as to enable them with impunity to trifle with popular opinions,"--which opinions are generally the result of irresistible natural feelings, whether generated by superstition or by reality.—Lord Melbourne's Speech to the Lords, from the Morning Chronicle, 30th July, 1835. TACITUS * who most impudently says that the Christians were "hated for their crimes," calling their faith "a deadly superstition:"—upon PORPHY-RIUS (A.D. 270.) who bitterly insulted the Christians;—upon the lawyer ULPIANUS, (A. D. 222.) who wrote "de torquendis Christianis;"—upon— EUNAPIUS, A. D. 396.) who calls the *holy* relicks of the Saints,

"The congregated heads and bones of those seized for their sins, whom civil judgment has punished."

Who calls the divine martyrs :---

"Wicked freemen who have been slaves (to opinion) and consumed with stripes (severely scourged) bearing the marks of their immorality in their images."

And also calls the Christian Monks :----

"Men indeed according to the face (so far as the face is concerned) but their life is a swinish one."

For one reason, however, we Christians ought to be less hostile to Plutarch than to the other writers of these times, because he has never written a syllable against us, and our religion; whereas, almost all the other Pagan writers, have emulated each other in heaping abuse upon us. Such at least as condescended to notice us.[†]

* Annal. b. XV. ch. 44.

[†] We are not only reprobated by Tacitus, A. D. 105—*Pilnius* and Trajanus, A. D. 106—*Suctonius*, A. D. 115— *Marcus Antoninus*, A. D. 170—*Lucianus*, A. D. 176—and especially by *Celsus*, A. D. 176—but may also perhaps be alluded to (generally with contempt) by *Epictetus*, A. D. 109— *Martialis*, A. D. 95—*Juvenalis*, A. D. 100—*Apulius*, A. D. 164--and *Aristides*, A. D. 176. The true friends of mental liberty----those who desire knowledge, education, and comforts, for all classes, should unite their efforts to introduce a new system of training the *human animal*, * by which

Now, that every man is allowed to judge for himself, it is time we think, to have all these opinions reprinted with new and correct editions of our Bibles —so that all the people may be able to judge fairly. It is indeed shocking to think what little effect our Miracles produced upon the following list of literary men, no one of whom has made the most distant allusion to us or to our worthy "Messenger"—though nearly all of them flourished about the first century of Christianity—viz: Pomponius Mola, A. D. 40—Seneca, the philosopher, A. D. 60— Petronius, Arbiter, A.D. 60—Annæus Lucanus, A.D. 63—Aulus Persius, A. D. 60—Plinius the naturalist, A. D. 70—Papinius Statius, A. D. 90—Dio Prussæus, A. D. 98—Quintillianus, A. D. 100—Lucius Florus, A. D.110—Ælianus, A. D. 10—Ptolemæus, A. D. 130—they must certainly all be d—d "for not mentioning the miracles of our Saviour."†

* And first, transform all the Charity-Schools of our Towns into Prytaniums in the country for the Children of the people. The present instruction they receive is any thing but intellectual or moral; on meeting these unhappy beings, driven two by two in long rows, they appear more like things coming out of some musty machine, than sensitive substances capable of being educated and cultivated; their very dress is a disgrace to our present knowledge of what is necessary for youth in order to combine health, comfort, and the natural grace belonging to that age, when not distorted by the fixed and slavish dread of the rod. It is then a matter of the most *pressing necessity* to deliver us from such exhibitions, and to allow the exercise of the fields and country air to the youth of all classes.

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[†] Life of Plutarchus compiled by Johanes Rualdus---inserted in the Paris edition of Plutarch's Works by Antoine Etienne in 1624.---Cap. IX.

the mind of youth should not be compelled to believe any thing that could not be demonstrated in so clear a manner as to be verified by their own subsequent investigations of nature.

Let it be confessed under a more sincere and more rational system of education than is followed in our present schools, colleges, or universities, that----

All human research and investigation up to this day, which have had for object to discover how life and intelligence began upon the earth, have not yet, given any positive results.

That, all Mysteries, Oracles, Religions, Revelations and Sectarian controversies about the idea *God*, *Spirit* or *Soul*—have never been able to inform the human understanding precisely when, nor exactly how the organic world has been produced, but that the physical sciences being decidedly progressive, future generations must necessarily proceed onwards and acquire still more knowledge on the ORIGIN of HUMAN NATURE, and on the ORIGIN and STRUCTURE of the universe.

That, no research or investigation of nature has ever yet given us a satisfactory proof or clear notion of the existence of a God, or Creator, separate from nature, or "supernatural" as it is whimsically termed.

That, the intelligence manifested in the animal and vegetable world, or life itself, cannot yet be understood otherwise than as "qualities" of organized substances, precisely in the same manner as numbers and dimensions are qualities of inorganic "matter," and it is merely that quality—that instinct—abstractedly considered which theologians have named the "soul."

That, theology is a vain illusory knowledge, deserving only the name of *science* when there was actually no other better adapted and more in harmony with the mental faculties of the human brain—since it merely aims at finding the origin of a *quality* isolated and independent of all the other qualities of "*matter*."

That, all theologians, whether resting upon some supposed "revelation," or upon some system of nature, have confined themselves within a circle of errors, by making or imagining the existence of a "Being," out of that which the human brain must always consider as nothing more than a property, a power, a quality of what is visible and tangible—as well might they imagine or personify noise or sound in the universe, independently of the sense of hearing, or colours independently of the organs of sight.

That in short, human curiosity seeking as it were to satisfy itself from the beginning, deified all the unknown into one or many beings—worshiping names, mysteries, words, attributes, and qualities: each people according to the impression made on them by surrounding nature, so that if a God were invented by horses, he would run, or trot, upon four legs. *

* Clemens Alexandrinus has preserved some verses of *Xenophanes*, which are thus translated by *Voltaire*, (Dict. Phil. art. Emblem, tom. 3. p. 90.)

Chacun figure en toi ses attributs divers ;

Les oiseaux te feraient voltiger dans les airs.

Les Bœufs te prêteraient leurs cornes menacantes,

Les Lyons t'armeraient de leurs dents déchirantes.

Les chevaux dans les champs te feraient galoper.---

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The physical sciences have something so positive and so very attractive about them-so well adapted to bring a new conviction to the brain totally different from what is called *persuasion* in fiction or mysteries, that none but ignorant teachers, or interested knaves, can really be surprised-or affect to be so,when they witness in themselves, or in others, a total change of feelings operated by the conviction derived from reality-this new feeling is of a superior nature MAN, because it reveals the power of his mental faculties, which on the contrary the blind persuasion of mere faith tends to stifle, to torture, and finally to destroy,—hence it is the first duty of all the leading characters of the age, to abandon fiction and metaphysics as the basis of their thoughts regarding education, for the new scientific one, now required.

A positive scientific basis for a national education, is no doubt far preferable to one purely literary, and still more so to one purely religious: after all, does not the extraordinary influence of science over the human *substance* to modify it, and the irresistible attractions of the mind towards new ideas and new knowledge, prove the physical sciences to be an instinct of nature calling for the foundation of a new *religion*, of a new social link, and the only real basis of useful learning?—we doubt it not, and a time will come when the publishers and sellers of the unstamped press now persecuted and hunted into dungeons by the police, shall be distinguished over all the great names of the day, as the martyrs of the new enlightened conviction from reality, and posterity shall testify its gratitude for those who felt it a virtuous duty to diffuse political and positive knowledge in spite of the law.

We do not concur in opinion with those who would abolish the dead languages—they may continue to be taught so far only as they are necessary to understand the mechanism of the more modern ones—but when the whole time of youth is taken up with Etymology, Grammar, Syntax, and mysterious translations, they will only make overgrown children, totally strangers to the *positive* wants of social life—whereas the early study of the physical sciences, above all, that of phrenology, of animal and vegetable physiology, and of organic chemistry (without the knowledge of which there can be no solid basis to morality,) can alone form observing and reflecting rational beings, who shall value liberty of thought—and citizens true to the principles of general utility.—*

* Public Schools—" On the first glance at the occupations of pupils in our public schools, every one is struck with the strange, not to say absurd, spectacle of young Englishmen being engaged from morning to night, through a succession of eight or ten years, in learning the language, manners, geography and antiquities of Athens and Rome—communities long ago extinct, and having but a very remote analogy to the political and social state of their own country. When this system was first introduced into our schools and colleges, at the revival of letters, and even so late as the end of the seventeenth century, such a system of education was defensible, on the principle of utility, and almost on that of necessity. All liberal knowledge, all scientific treatises, and almost every thing that was elegant in

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" It has been said that among the youths of the day those who are the best students are not radicals or reformers ? if by good student be meant a capacity

polite literature, and in works of the imagination, were comprised in the Roman and Greek language; while all the intercourse of literature and diplomacy was maintained in the Latin, as the universal language. These languages, therefore, formed the indispensible basis, and even an integral and important portion, of the superstructure of a liberal and practical education. But who, at this day, would think of having recourse to Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Pliny, for the study of natural history; to Cato Varro, and Virgil, for a knowledge of agriculture; to Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen, for instruction in materia medica, and surgery; to Archimedes, Theodocius, and Diophantus, for mathe. matics ; or to Plato, Cicero, aud Xenophon, for the science of government and politics? And so entirely has the Latin language ceased to be the medium of scientific and diplomatic communication, that it is rare to hear now even of a private correspondence being maintained by learned individuals of different nations, on any literary subject, in that language. The very foundations, therefore, of utility and necessity, on which the present system was built, have been either washed away by the lapse of time, or overlaid by the improvements and discoveries introduced by more recent diligence and genius. The time, therefore, is surely arrived for revising the system of education adopted by our remote ancestors, and for considering what part of it is adapted to existing circumstances, and what part ought to be exploded as obsolete, to make way for other attainments more consonant to present exigences."-British and Foreign Quarterly Review.

To this it may well be replied-

"It is true, that as the reviewer intimates we should not think of consulting the works of the ancients on the various subjects to which he alludes, yet the *learned* men of the day—I do not say the *wise* men—compel us to refer to these writers for information: thus the apothecaries' company still insists upon an examination in Celsus—and the Universities are still allowed for making greek and latin verses, as well as the cooks of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* once did: if by good student you mean that aptitude which leads youth to obtain the prizes of *catechism*, wisdom and humanitas----in other words the prizes of idiotism and sulkiness :----well and good—the assertion then that no radicals or republicans can make good students appears to us an axiom---but by education we understand not only the a, b, c, d, of grammatical instruction----but also the combination of all the circumstances which contribute to develope in youth intelligence---perception---morality and contemplative sagacity, in full liberty of thought and conception."

Though much has been said, and published of late, on the subject of popular education—remember well that those who call themselves the active supporters and warm promoters of the amelioration of the people, by giving them a true and positively useful education, are not such in capacity or in sincerity, if they condemn you intentionally to a slow advance in the knowledge of pure and simple reality—such for instance, as leading you through the loose entangling nets of metaphysics; for, that obscure and bastard science never was any thing in itself but a sham liberty of thought, *harnessed* as it

to give the highest honours to those well versed in Aristotle and Plato—the power therefore that it is most urgent to annihilate by a bold and decided legislation is that of an arrogant Episcocracy whom conscious of what its usurpation has to dread from a system of education in real harmony with human intelligence, compels all academic honors rank and emolument to remain harnessed in the rear of ignorance and superstition."

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were between fiction and delusion, although it has been—no one denies—for a time long gone by, a step in advance of the primitive darkness of superstition, mysticism and holy fiction.

Together with the greater number of positive and enlarged ideas (the true means of eliciting the generous feelings and elevated sentiments which human organization is capable of) we wish that education would make known to man all his natural wants, —his "Moral" capacity, as being the necessary consequence of the modification of sensitiveness or sensibleness—his progressive social rights as inseparable from those modifications—all his corresponding duties, as the direct result of a timely supply of all his wants.*

In spite of your orthodox doctrine of faith, and of all metaphysical conclusions, we maintain;---

* It is easy to show the fallacy, and to explain thein efficiency of all education founded upon the vague distinction of human sensations into moral and physical.—No organized substance can have any feelings but such as are the result of its sensitive relation within itself and with the external world,—these implying the existence of organs : all our feelings are only qualities manifested by their functions.

"We feel happy—says Raspail—to have done that which is good for surrounding objects, in the same way that we feel happy to have procreated—to have relieved our digestive organs from the pangs of hunger and thirst,—to have secured our body from the mortal numbness of cold :—under all these circumstances we do nothing more than obey the irresistible laws of preservation and reproduction, we satisfy our organic necessity, we merely restore the equilibrium within ourselves the doing of which (when we can) is no more in reality than satisfying a want of our nature."--- New system of ORGANIC CHEMISTRY." French Edition--I. B. Bailliere, 219, Regent St. That legislation and politics have the same basis as morality, viz. the WANTS OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

That pure legislation and sound politics resolve themselves into knowing how to supply those wants,--

That morality and virtue will naturally follow without religious instruction or precepts, just as correct language and gentlemanly or polite deportment, cleanliness, and all the refinements of social life, always follow example by mere imitation, wherever such examples are the established rule.

And *that* your science of morality, supposed to be incalculated through mystic exhortations, never will bring man or woman to harmonize with the external world under social rules, until it shall be taught as resting essentially upon the study and internal knowledge of our *organic life*,* as well as upon a perfect acquaintance with, and correct knowledge of all things, visible and tangible by which we are surrounded, as well as of their relation to each other.

In fine, it is our impression

That no code of laws and regulations, no system of education, will prove henceforth beneficial and useful to the people (whose intelligence is to be cultivated,) unless they can satisfy the feelings of the heart without perplexing the mental faculties of the brain.—Convictions from physical facts may accomplish it :—blind faith in mysteries, never can; because

* By organic life is meant the laws of our nature, independent of our will; such for instance: as digestion, adaptation, assimilation, circulation, and most of the secretitious operations of the animal economy. impartial and serious reflection will convince all disinterested and thinking men that by "spiritual wants," must now be understood and administered to the people INTELLECTUAL FOOD.

Reform then the episcopal power, which has placed itself, with all the arrogance of comparative ignorance, in constant opposition to the rational education and civilization of the people.

There can be no doubt, that, in proportion as the physical sciences become more and more diffused, public opinion will modify itself conformably to the new revelations of positive scientific knowledge, and will abandon all obsolete notions, prejudices and superstitions.

Hence such Governments as do not adopt a *positive* scientific basis, or totally new fulcrum, on which to rest the lever of power, wherewith they guide and regulate the mass of intellectual knowledge and influence, produced in the present day by the rapid march of invention and discoveries, must inevitably sink more and more in the estimation of the thinking part of the public; for, it is not their making laws, by commanding majorities in both Houses, which constitutes their real strength—but public opinion.

In the name therefore of humanity, let us hear no more of orthodox mysticism, of *spiritual wants*, or of metaphysics being supported directly or indirectly, either by the authority of a great name, or by that of the laws of the land, for it is INTELLECTUAL FOOD which is now the urgent want of society.

We admit but of two modes of social existence for

human organization,—that of being trained by FAITH in FICTION---and that of being educated in CONVICTION from FACTS—the former has of late given many symptoms of expiring agony, and is, we believe, all but exploded in civilized Europe. When, then, shall the people of Europe be governed rationally and exclusively by the latter?

Not until the physical sciences, in conjunction with that of politics, shall constitute in reality the sum total of education.

Not until the people at large, (but more particularly the *free* electors of our representatives in Parliament) shall be convinced that all those whose ambition it is, (under the present system) to exercise power over their fellow creatures, must be interested *in preventing* them from placing themselves in the condition of being governed by reason.

Not until it shall be generally understood and admitted, that in spite of every effort made during the infancy and youth of man to incapacitate him for exercising his reason when arrived at adult age, they who have subsequently acquired the habit of regulating themselves by reason, will refuse to be any longer governed upon principles at total variance with it."*

* It has come to this pass in Parliament, that the appeal of reason is discreditable—the renunciation of it a thing to parade and be vain of. . . Truly was it said by Hobbes, that "when reason is against a man, that man will be against reason." The instruments which are chiefly made use of in that assembly, to cover the renunciation of reason, and render it somewhat less palpable, are a set of hack phrases, serving each

And why do we think so?

Because a true and rational education alone can enable the people to understand the nature of the social vices by which they are still surrounded, and which prevent them from using the faculties that would *facilitate self-knowledge*. For no man, so long as he remains in profound ignorance of the imperious wants of organic life, can truly say that he knows either himself, his wife, or his children, still less his friends or his enemies; and hence it is that with the best

of them as a wrapper for a little sophistry. There we have, "Not speculation, but practice,"-as much as to say, act like a beast, and not like an intelligent being ;- "Wisdom of our ancestors," -as if ancientness of error were better than truth, or the everlasting repetition of evil converted into good ;--of late, the word "Institution" has been industriously employed to preclude the use of reason. "Institution," in the talk of the anti-reformers, is made synonymous with government and religion ; "change" is made synonymous with destruction : By force of this new nomenclature, therefore, he who desires to reform anything goes to the destruction of government and religion ; as if government were no longer government when it is rendered good-religion were no longer religion when it is rendered pure and intelligible. What these people mean is, that government and religion are destroyed when stupid mischief can no longer be done by them and with them.-London Review. No. 1, page 19.

intentions and with no lack of means to carry them into effect, tempers are too often outraged—noble feelings smothered—great minds distracted—fond natural hopes deceived—cruel matrimonial bonds enforced—and mental faculties destroyed.*

* How many crimes are committed by individuals, whose minds are maddened to despair by the uncongenial temper of a wife or a husband? How many victims of the same cause are immured in dungeons or transported beyond the seas? How many virtuous persons are hurled from their throne of happiness from the same cause? And all these heart-rending atrocious deeds are perpetrated in the name of religion! Alas! one would almost feel tempted to exclaim with the poet :---

" Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

In England, a Protestant country, marriage retains all the inflexible tyranny of the darkest ages of papistry; it is even worse than the *carcere durissimo* for life at the Spielberg, inasmuch as the death of that *Vizir*, Metternich, or some other equally auspicious event, may abruptly put an end to it.

No country stands more in need of this relief than England, where marriage is seldom promoted by a genuine disinterested love, but is the result of that spirit of calculation and foresight which so eminently characterises this our great nation. This is the species of love which, with some individual exceptions, is the ruling principle of marriage in England ;-a love from expediency-a desire of reconciling with the acquisition of comforts aud honours, the possession of a companion, and of a right of admission into that class which constitutes the bulwark of old society. But of that love-that innocent feeling which spontaneously and suddenly rises in our hearts at the sight of a sympathetic object-like a perfume from a virgineal rose at the appearance of the sun ;--of that sentiment which resists the power of oblivion and floats triumphant on the tide of time, I am grievously concerned to say that I have seen very rare instances in this country .---- "S. ANICHINI to LORD BROUGHAM :" Printed by Marchant, Ingram Court, Fenchurch St.

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Lose no time therefore, and spare no means whatever, in acquiring and diffusing all that can be known, up to the present day, of human organization.*

Far be it from us to deny, or even to detract, in the least degree, from the beneficial influence of all religions over the natural ignorance of barbarism; compelled by the very nature of their organization, as well as by the force of time and circumstances, to

* Among the very few works really adapted to this purpose is "The Philosophy of Health," by Dr. Southwood Smith, who, with Mr. Simpson, the author of a work on "Popular Education as a National Object," has opened subjects of the deepest interest to society. We have not time at present to do more than direct the attention of the public to the attentive perusal of these two works, both having the same objects in view. It may however, be useful to state, to prevent future mistakes, that Mr. Simpson appears to be totally ignorant of the origin of Infant Schools when he attributes them to Mr. Wilderspin, and of their real importance, when he limits them to the low condition in which the Infant Schools are compelled to be kept, through the ignorance of the patrons under whom Mr. Wilderspin has been employed to open these very mixed institutions. They were devised by Robert Owen, the founder of them, as the first practical step of the "New State of Society," or of the "New Moral World," and they are capable of effecting far more than Mr. Wilderspin or his patron has ever yet imagined. They have attempted to make them instruments of still more effectually overpowering the rational faculties of children, that they might be mentally degraded, and more easily made the slaves of superstition. We know that it is useless for this attempt to be persevered in, for the decree has gone forth, "THAT MAN SHALL BE MENTALLY FREE, AND THAT THE DESPOTISM OF IGNORANCE SHALL NO LONGER GOVERN THE HUMAN RACE."-From ROBERT OWEN'S "New Moral World," No. 22, March, 1835.

vegetate on earth, during a long period, in a condition but little removed from that of brutes, what higher philosophy could mankind possibly follow than that of religious mysteries? Where could they find a more effective principle than spiritual blind faith, either for affording them consolation, or for procuring them moral security, until the period should arrive when that same sensitive organization, developed by progressive experience and by successive modifications could obtain from its own efforts, excited by continued curiosity, that knowledge of reality with which blind faith never had any sympathy; our mental faculties feeling, at the same time, a constant and pleasurable attraction towards all new convictions in harmony with our wants.

This is the *physical* attraction which has gradually emancipated man from the consequences of the errors he so fondly cherished, when wilfully mistaking them for truths beneficially affecting what he then considered as his *eternal* interests.

Now, since the new influence of the physical sciences upon mankind is to remove that wilfulness —since they forbid us any longer to consider mysteries or "revelation" as eternal truths, where shall we find terms suficiently strong to denounce the continuance of an *Episcopalian* power inforcing mystic instructions, the object of which is to *inculcate* upon the mind of youth mere invented fiction, under the pretence of being most important "eternal truths," knowing, as we do, that all the improved means we now possess of acquiring *real* knowledge must sub-

sequently *demonstrate them* to be nothing but the prevailing errors of the day?

Is it not designedly an abuse of power over youth, and perplexing the brains of men ?

Is it not teaching falsehood, in order to create a painful doubt upon subjects represented to youth as being most serious ?

Is it not perpetuating a pretext for performing what are called clerical *duties*, which *duties* are of no other intelligible utility, than to allay the very doubts and correct the very errors, which owe their continuance to themere pertinacity of pulpit exhortation and reproof?

Is it not rejecting all the natural means of convictions which TIME and THOUGHT have produced, as if, because a man without the means of obtaining a good education *must of necessity remain credulous* it could be useful to him, or commendable in others, to nurture credulity and superstition in those, who can now obtain and employ the means of education in reality?

"Oh, deceitful withering Church! (must those exclaim, who can read, in the march of centuries, the different stages of the real intellectual progress of mankind) thy mission is happily accomplished, for that of true science and of positive knowledge has, at last, decidedly begun!

"Most impious hypocritical priesthood, thy iniquitous piles are for ever extinguished and humanity shall never more shudder before such horrid sights as the fumes of roasting human flesh ascending to heaven —execrable incense offered by the ignoble ministers of imaginary gods on the altars of a most cruel and most ridiculous worship. True it is, thy priests no longer dare to torture and mutilate the body; but thy mystical despotism over the credulity of youth, still enjoys the power of mutilating its mental faculties. In vain have thy proud chiefs usurped in time the titles of pastors—in vain have they assumed the garments of our ancient patriarchs—in vain have they decorated their Cynic forehead with the solar mitre of our ancestors—I detect on their shoulders the scarlet hue of the ' beast and the red cloaks of the consuls.'

"The boreal ass of Typhon cannot conceal his long ears under the mane of the lion of the desert, and the hyena of the capitol resembles not the lamb."*

Abuse and reproach, however eloquent, are nothing but abuse and reproach, which have seldom, if ever, been productive of real good,—we prefer and recommend cool observation and sound arguments upon well ascertained realities.

The present excitement, and general agitation of Christendom are to us evident symptoms that the time is coming, when the great European family will begin to scrutinize by the aid of reason and science only, the social basis of all the religious establishments and civil institutions which have hitherto bound MAN to MAN, so that the people at large may understand better than heretofore, how to avail themselves of so many recent and useful discoveries of human industry and genius, to satisfy their mental and bodily WANTS, without detriment to the peace and harmony of society, and yet through greater facilities in obtaining the comforts of social life.

* Philosophy of Revelation.

The security of civilized society, under the pressure of increasing population, depends upon the moral and bodily health of all its members, neither of which can be counted upon, unless both the mental and physical wants are satisfied, and we sincerely believe that so long as a religious mystic instruction shall precede or accompany national education, the people will never be able to acquire the political knowledge they must have, in order to obtain any reforms really useful to them.

Priests of all denominations, bound and shackled as they are by articles of faith, never can be true teachers of positive knowledge, to the full extent that the present age can afford—because they are compelled by their very character of Priests to personify good and evil, into "Gods and Devils :" and this once tolerated, their weekly discourse like all sermons, seldom goes beyond "enlogizing their Almighty Gods and decrying their devils."

The whole bent of tuition by priests, must necessarily be, to make their pupils slavishly acquiesce in a parcel of traditional dogmas, and instead of awakening the desire of FARTHER PROGRESS, to frighten them at the idea of it; training them to regard progress as a source of boundless evil, and to look upon all those who pursue it as *villains* aiming at the destruction of whatever is valuable in society."*

But the brain impressed by the full conviction, from facts, of the supreme *holiness* of its intellectual

^{*} London Review, No. 2, p. 282.

development over all the mysterious sacredness of former ages, feels proud of the intended stigma bestowed by ignorance; ---- the vegetating bud might as well abuse the flower for expanding so soon, or the flower abuse the coming seed for not allowing it to enjoy the sunshine of another day, --- no, no, under the physical law of continued progress, "political agitation" becomes a noble virtue, if not marred by real or affected bigotism :--- for there are few errors which have not had their day of truth, and few truths not marked as errors in the womb of time.

The use of all *stagnant* articles of faith, as the basis of education, should be forthwith interdicted, for nothing is more fraught with real and lasting injury to the intellectual faculties of man; it tends to make men enemies before hand to the new truths, in the honest search of which human organization, when it has had the good fortune to escape mystical *mutilation* in infancy, finds a constant source of increasing pleasure and utility.

"Instructed as the people have been to this day, by whole phalanxes of priests, all at war with each other, to teach them Catholic orthodoxy—Protestant orthodoxy—Wesleyan orthodoxy—Baptist and Unitarian orthodoxies,—Muggletonian, Cameronian, and Moravian orthodoxies,—the jumping, quaking, and shaking orthodoxies, and a vast variety of other most *excellent*, though most *conflicting*, orthodox faiths, all of them unsheathing the sword of controversy, in the name of a God of *peace*,—each of them consigning the rest to "*eternal damnation*," in the name of an " all saving Redeemer;"—who can wonder that the violent sectarian, and those who are timorous and narrow-minded, should still preponderate in society.

They will not be more advanced in ratiocination for alternately exclaiming, as they all do with more or less envy and wounded pride :—Oh, most infamous priesthood !—Oh, most execrable popery !—Oh, the swallowers of tithes !—Oh, the Protestant ascendency !—Oh, the Heretics !—Oh, the Protestant ascendency !—Oh, the Heretics !—Oh, the ranting Methodists !—Oh, that bigotted agitator !—Oh, the priest ridden rabble !—Oh, put down Episcocracy !—Oh, keep out those miscreant Jews and all dissenters !— Oh, for the voluntary system !—and finally,—Oh, for natural Theology and the " immense Being !"—with many more, spoken in sorrow, in anger, in deceit, or in the sincerity of ignorance.

Each and all of these reciprocal expostulations, though natural, indeed, to sectarian prejudice, always self-right, because self-judged: are but the ravings of deluded brains, more or less injured and mutilated in youth, by the expounders of faith in fiction ----for, howevermuch one sect may now encroach upon another, by greater zeal and success in mystic propagandism, it matters little, on the whole, to reality and reason, strangers as they ever are to religious hatred and controversy.

What better proofs can be required, to demonstrate that religious instruction is not now EDUCATION.

Shall you never then be capable of stoical fortitude ?----of judging what you are, and what you want abstractedly from vulgar prejudice ?----of taking a bold, impartial view of mankind at large ?----and, by casting off the mental shackles of pusillanimity, and timorousness, condense at once, into one thought, forty centuries of the history of MAN; then striking out of nature thirty-eight, and bring mentally the first century, close to the fortieth, view the wide difference without fear or wonder, and calmly prepare for the next, in continuation of the irresistible movement, which through TIME and THOUGHT, forces mankind onwards.

Then will the monstrous deformity of every kind of religious faith show itself, without its natural mask the fond credulity of ignorance; then may you discover, without much trouble, that when the intellectual wants are satisfied, by real education in reality, the time is near at hand for man to walk alone;* which he never can presume to attempt, when guided by spiritual faith only.

* At a public meeting held at the Baptist Chapel, High-street, Borough, on Monday, January 18th, D. W. Harvey, Esq. M.P. in the chair, the honourable Member is reported * to have said, that " a vast experiment was making in the present day ; it was-whether man, said to have been created about five - thousand years ago, could NOW WALK ALONE;" a proposition considered by the powers that be, as too much in advance of the spirit of the age, since not very far from the same spot the ceremony of laying the first stone of a building to be erected in Kennington Lane for the Licensed Victuallers' Charity, happened to take place on the Thursday following, when a Noble Lord who presided on the occasion as the representative of his most gracious Majesty, could not, it appears, spread and smooth the mortar on which a massive stone was gradually lowered, without having a priest by his side (the rev. gentleman * True Sun, 24th January, 1836.

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Let no one suspect our motives,----they are pure and disinterested,—our meaning is this :----the degree of science, which at any given time, was in harmony with the feelings of mankind, or with the human understanding at that time, has always led man to atttibute its essence to something SUPERNATURAL, (another word only for unknown.)

connected with the charity): if, therefore, the Prime Minister of Great Britain dares not yet walk alone, who shall presume to do so ?-True it is the Noble Lord is reported to have said, that " his Majesty was most anxious to promote the extension of " the high principles of benevolence and humanity, and to " distribute the incalculable benefits of EDUCATION among his "subjects," yet we cannot conceive what the priest has now to do with education :- mind that it is no longer mere instructions-to make believe, or to inculcate a persuasion-it is to be education : to educe, to bring out into view, to make manifest the moral and intellectual powers of children. We understand well enough the presence of Mr. Webb, the architect,-a new building was to be erected; we should equally understand the presence of scientific professors, such as Dr. Epps, Dr. Farraday, Dr. Roget, &c. for phrenology, chemistry, physiology, and all other useful branches of the positive sciences which Society possesses now the means of diffusing among the children for whom the building is to be erected; but the presence of a priest, with peremptory articles of faith, we cannot understand. It should no longer be tolerated except in church building ceremonies, if more mystic temples are still to be erected for the control peace and comforts of neglected ignorance to be well deceived, until the time that his Majesty's wishes regarding general EDUCATION can be realised : be that as it may, we congratulate the friends of education at another part of the same report, which says: "there is to be no degrading dress, no charity "livery, to remind the children of their destitution, or their " patrons of their munificence."-See Note p. 58.

A time has been, when the priesthood, expounding mysteries, yet well versed at the same time in all the science the human brain could then produce, were the most useful class of society, and if religious men have exclusively nursed the cradle of civilization, it was not merely because they were priests, but undoubtedly in consequence also of their then united capacity of astronomers, mathematicians, lawgivers, physicians, or chemists, and in short of being directors and instructors of the people, in all things really useful to agriculture, and to health, in administering, ordering and practising in all these things that were considered necessary to the economy of human life.

'Thus without mentioning the difference between the various religions which have succeeded each other in the course of time, it is enough to say that all new faith was followed because it appeared less absurd, or less objectionable, than the old one. *Druidism* was condemned by Catholicism. *Catholicism* was condemned by Church of Englandism. *Anglicanism* condemns the Calvinist, the Lutheran and the Presbyterian,----and these in their turn, condemn the Unitarians, who, oddly, enough, fancy themselves the most in advance af any, i. e. the less absurd or objectionable; we, therefore, stand a pretty good chance of being abused by the whole host of their respective Divines.

Yet, be it observed, the progress of something like common sense, the first exercise of some judgment is made manifest, in spite of religious faith, by the successive changes of the very grounds of that faith.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS,

GENERATED BY PERUSING

LORD BROUGHAM'S

DISCOURSE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY ;

OR

PHYSICS VERSUS METAPHYSICS;

WITH A

Few Broad Hints

EDUCATION AND POLITICS.

BY A STUDENT IN REALITIES.

PART II.

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs, By the known rules of ancient liberty, When strait a barbarous noise environs me Of Owls and Cuccoos, Asses, Apes, and Dogs, *Milton*,

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;

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1836.

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THEOREM.

of the reduction had the contract and some of the

"No sooner does a religious creed begin to print a reasoning catechism;—no sooner does political absolutism publish an explanatory journal,—than both hasten their downfall, the fact of their compulsory explanation being precisely what constitutes our triumph.

> Every religious system which rests upon *fixed* articles of faith, must, if it regard its own existence, make authority, not ratiocination, its principle; for, the moment that it has recourse to philosophy for assistance, its doom is cast, "c'est le commencement de sa fin."

All the endeavours of religion to defend herself; all her metaphysical verbiage can produce no other effect than that of making her flounder still more in the mire of contradiction, and of plunging her into absurdities the most glaring; into difficulties the most inextricable.

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The systems of science resulting from the observations of facts, made, however, a more rapid progress than the systems of superstition founded on mysteries. Most of the religious dogmas attacked by the schismastics, the sceptics, and the fanatics, were under the necessity of adopting a marked distinction of orthodoxy, against old and new heterodoxy; hence their priesthood and their faithful followers, were bound by certain ARTICLES of FAITH, which, they will gradually be compelled to abandon, by the very same law of nature it was once their pride to follow: namely the continued progress of intellectual knowledge.

"The Church of England Clergy, (for instance,) hired for the purpose of propagating a certain set of opinions, called *the thirty-nine articles of faith,*---are sworn to retain them: that is, they are sworn to keep their minds stationary, in at least one department of thought—This is a great misfortune, inseparable from the influence and character of such priesthood, for it creates a motive to exert themselves in keeping the minds of other men equally stationary in all the departments of thought; it actually makes the clergy the enemies of all mental improvement in which the people have a right to participate."

"This motive has a cruel extent of operations. To be bound to stand still, in any line of mental improvement, is, a state of intellectual degradation. The progress of some other men in knowledge gives them a keener sense of this degradation. The Clergy perceive that in proportion as other men grow wiser, they will sink deeper in contempt, this gives

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the priest a hatred for the pursuit of knowledge. The search of truth bodes them evil, and not good; and therefore, all their art is employed to prevent it."*

> Thus man becomes by priestly art, A prodigy without a heart. Thus KNOWLEDGE by a FORGED decree, Still stands an interdicted tree.

Thy root is truth, thy stem is power, And virtue thy consummate flower; All hail THOU, priest forbidden tree, For NATURE blessed and made thee free. NATURE the foodful blessing give, That man might eat of it, and live : But THEY, who have usurped her throne, To KEEP HER PARADISE THEIR OWN, Spreading around a demon's breath, Dare name thee, "UPAS TREE OF DEATH." Yet receive a reforming nation's vows, Yet the world's garland shall deck thy BOUGHS. Dr. DRENNAN.

Many of the priesthood of all countries have, more or less, been themselves *free inquirers* in secret. It is to be regretted that so few among the number have had the disinterested courage to publish their *thoughts* and their *doubts* to the world—but, as those who have done so, are the most distinguished for knowledge among the sanctified brotherhood, their testimony weighs more in the scales of reason, than that of the silent, though *apparent* orthodox.

Some of the most eminent divines among the English Clergy, have not concealed their detestation of the mental

* London Review, No. 2, page 273.

fetters imposed upon their order by the profound ignorance of pretended Church Reformers. Dr. MIDDLETON speaks in the following terms of their deplorable hostility, to the interest of truth and real knowledge.

"Every man's experience will furnish instances of the "wretched fruits of mistaken zeal in the bigotted, vicious, and "ignorant part, both of the Clergy and the Laity; who puffed "up with the pride of an imaginary orthodoxy, and detesting "all free inquiry, as dangerous to their case, and sure to ex-"pose their ignorance, take pleasure in defaming and insulting "men of candour, learning and probity, who happen to be "touched with any scruples, or charged with any opinions "which they call heretical,"* as if to abuse with coarse epithets, could stand in lieu of refutation.

One of the most respectable names to be found in the list of Church of England Clergy, is, JEREMY TAYLOR — and he thus expresses himself to the following effect :—

"Possibly men may be angry with me, and my design; for "I do them all great displeasure, who think no end is then well "served, when their own interest is disserved."

" Opinions are called *heresies*, upon interest, and the grounds " of emoluments."¹

"Our opinions commence, and are upheld, according as our "turns are served, and our interests are preserved."§

To return to Middleton, who saw this malignant disease of the Church of England with peculiar clearness :---

"I do not know how to account for that virulence of zeal, with which free inquiry is opposed by those writers, but by imputing it to their prejudices or habitual bigotry, or to some motives especially of interest, which of course bars all entrance to opinions, though ever so probable, if not stamped by an authority which can sweeten them with rewards."

* Middleton's Works, 4to edition, vol. ii. page 117.
† Liberty of prophesying, Epist. ded. ‡ ibid.

§ ibid Introduction.

|| Preface to an intended answer to all objections against free inquiry, works 4to edition, page 374.

" The thirty-nine articles of Englandism are a set of propositions, the strangeness of which we shall not expatiate upon. The Clergy and orthodox laity, subscribe to them as articles of faith, which they are bound to believe-any thing more fraught with injury to the intellectual faculties of the brain cannot be conceived. Suffice it to say, that all men who can believe in these or any articles of faith, as eternal truths, must be the declared enemies to free inquiry in search of any other truth-and since all religions, resting on "revelations," as well as all the physical sciences have reference, either to man, to this planet, or to the universe, he that has faith in any religious revelation must of necessity dread the avowed end of positive science. But the subscription to articles of faith goes even beyond this, it vouches for future belief. It is a bond that the individual subscribing, shall for ever after set his mind against the admission of natural evidence."

"It is a deplorable fact, that, the generation of effectual motives to the hatred of truth in one department, generates effectual motives to the hatred of it generally.

"The man who is reduced by religious instruction to the degraded condition of resisting any new truth, must fear that if the love and pursuit of physical facts, in search of those truths, should become more general, he must become an object of general contempt. What a motive is not this to him, to smother it in the very birth if he can. See with what perfect

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obedience to this impulse, the Church of England and all the priests in power have always acted? Above all investigate minutely the cruel modes, in which, to this end, it has abused its power over the business of a national education."

> With the same *cement*, ever sure to bind, *They* bring to one *dead level* every mind." 268.

> First slave to words, then vassal to a name; Then dupe to party; child and man the same; Bounded by nature; narrowed still by art; A triffing mind, and a contracted heart; Thus bred, thus taught, how many have I seen, Smiling on all, and smiled on by a Queen! 501. DUNCIAD, BOOK IV.

"There is not a finer specimen of the arts of the Clergy, than their new-born zeal for the religious instruction of the poor—formerly a Clergyman as little thought it belonged to him as to make shoes for the children of his parishoners. Till the other day there was in England no instruction for the children of the poor. They were absolutely uneducated in religion, as in any thing else—it is only when education in general, that is, real knowledge begins to be encouraged, that they think a religious instruction is required for the poor."

"Non-instruction in religion was not considered by the priest to be an evil, when in union with ignorance—blind faith in mysteries and miracles, was then sure and safe; but non-instruction in religion becomes direful when real knowledge begins, because the convictions of reality are known to be incompatible with blind servitude.

"So long as the people were to remain in gross ignorance of nature, their servility to their priests could be depended upon. The moment light began to dawn upon them, it was not to be expected, *unless particular artifice was used*. An expedient then was fallen upon, it was that of clamoring for the union of a religious instruction, with real education.

"This, in the *first* place, was a great impediment to the education of the poor, it rendered it quite impossible for the children of different religious sects to be educated together. This was a capital stroke. It rendered the real education of the people much more expensive, and therefore much less likely to be carried into effect.

"Secondly, it made all those benevolent individuals, whose mystic partiality ran towards the mystic church, place the funds which they were disposed to contribute towards the education of the poor, under the control of the priests, who were skilled in the art of giving religious instruction without real EDUCATION.

What is, after all, their religious instruction?

In all mystic religion, does it not come to this? holding out rewards for believing one way, and punishment for believing another way, now what sort of training is that for the mind of youth? Is it not holding out inducement to resist the force of evidence, on the one side, and lend it a weight, which does not belong to it, on the other. This is a mode of attaching belief to any opinion however unfounded; and as soon as a young man is thoroughly broken into the mental habit, the power of sound judgment is destroyed within him.

The only thing which a man in whose breast this habit is generated, sees in an opinion, is, whether it is agreeable to his interest or not :—whether it is founded in evidence or not, *he has been trained to neglect*; real truth or falsehood in matters of opinion is no longer, with him, the first consideration.

"This is nearly the most immoral state of mind which can have existence in the human brain. No other cause of criminal actions is of equal potency with this—a man in this state of training, has an opinion ready to justify him in any profitable course of cruelty, in which he can engage. How great a proportion of Church of England teaching, in pulpits, in schools, and in universities, has this tendency, and no other, is a subject of paramount importance."*

All men who have *recovered* the use of their mental powers, and whose natural dispositions for inquiry and observation, have led them to the free study of MAN, under all the curious modifications he is made to undergo by the various and conflicting social rules which surround his life from the cradle to the grave, can have no difficulty in admitting the truth of the foregoing remarks.

There are however many, many,—who have not yet recovered—we regret to say—from the mystic

^{*} London Review, No. 11, page 267.

torture inflicted upon their youth by the care of teachers totally ignorant of human organization.

Something more is required to convince them and it is for such, that the following suggestions are more particularly intended.

Let those who can reflect on their own feelings, ask themselves seriously :

Wherefore have I any faith in my religion ?

The least reflection will suggest for answer:

It is because I have the satisfaction of knowing, through my religion, the beginning or the origin of things, the nature and cause of my own existence, and the constitution and government of the world, all of which, I think, but for my religion, would have remained for ever unknown to man; faith is, to me the satisfaction of a positive WANT.—We grant it.— The first of your wishes has been satisfied, by your scriptures giving you some history of the creation. But now, a second question naturally occurs. It is this:

Is the power of satisfying that inward feeling, or WANT, inherent in man, exclusively possessed by my own religion?

Reason, aided by a little knowledge answers, no. Decidedly, no; for, upon a little research, it will be found that there never has been any superstitious creed, worship, or mystery, in short any religion or "*revelation*," which has not at all times, and for all mankind, equally satisfied man's natural desire of acquiring some information or other, concerning the *alpha* and the *omega*, of his race, and of learning something or other respecting the origin and end of the globe—itself a mere atom in the immensity of the universe.

Now, all dogmas of faith thus resolving themselves into different versions of the same story, or into different solutions of the same phenomena, the origin of the existence of man and of the world of which all men, even the most ignorant, have ever desired to have some account or explanation and all these different versions being equally satisfactory to the respective followers of each religious system, does it not follow that no better, and no more correct, definitions of the religious feeling can be given—than of its being an instinctive want of some apparently positive knowledge, concerning mankind and the creation of the world, before the time that such knowledge could actually be obtained by observation and research into realities.

Mankind is now admitted to be decidedly a PRO-GRESSIVE SPECIES both in language, in knowledge, and practical science—and we hold that every kind of theology, or system of mystic knowledge, is nothing more than the very beginning of human science, leading the human race onward, slowly, but surely, from credulity and curiosity, towards the new means of acquiring (through an improved training of the understanding) a kind of knowledge far superior to that which was originally but the pure invention of the imagination.

We further hold, that the physical sciences when generally diffused, and when better applied, to meet and satisfy all the mental and physical wants and

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a priest, whatever his creed or sect, for, all creeds imply blind faith, and all sects suppose some error it is the characteristic of error to form sects. Physical facts never do.

The whole duty, consequently, of a national school in the present day, should be, to explain the series of phenomena, which form the system of our positive knowledge—toteach children the properties, qualities, and powers of nature, as existing in all organized substances, as well as the reciprocal relations and influences of those substances, all of which knowledge is demonstrable by physical science alone.*

* It is an error to suppose that it is necessary to know, in their minutest details, all the nomenclatures, or even all the elements of a science, in order to attain a knowledge of the physical sciences, and clearly to understand their generalization. It is quite possible to acquire very correct ideas upon vegetable physiology, without burdening the memory with the names of fifty thousand species or varieties of plants. In the system of the world, by Laplace, there are neither algebraical symbols nor difficult technical descriptions; and yet the whole science is comprised in those few chapters which are perfectly accessible to an ordinary capacity, and it will always remain a truth that the generalizations of science may be expressed in the usual language of society. It is the only means of diffusing them, and if there are no philosophers sufficiently zealous to undertake the task, the learned world, consisting of so limited a number, will ever remain a world by itself, entirely unconnected with the masses of mankind, who will proceed in civilization without them, but whose civilization, for that very reason, will remain INCOMPLETE AND FULL of ERRORS.

The most beneficial consequences must necessarily follow from a course of instruction which has for its object the diffusion among society of the general results of the labours of men The only direct and safe road now opened, by which man can arrive at a knowledge of the true history of himself and of the world: the only and the easiest means by which he can detect and expose the *holy* mystifications of old and obsolete social rules, consist in an education of pure and evident realities.

Such an education would also teach the rulers of the earth how human organization, once known, ought to be governed in order to secure to man more stability in his affections and in moral rectitude, than can be expected from the tedious and affected exhortations of dogmatism, or from the endless sermonizings, confessedly inefficient to the accomplishment of the object they were intended to effect—the amelioration of the condition of the people, and the reformation of prejudice and idolatry, by eradicating for ever from society, the blind, though fond, credulity of ignorance.

No enlightened mind will, upon reflection, be surprised at this, for since the rudest and most barbarous times for all nations have been exclusively those, in which blind faith exercised the most powerful and absolute sway over the credulity of human organization, how is it to be expected, that ignorance, the inexhaustible source of credulity, can ever be eradicated through the instrumentality of any religious

of science, and tends to make the physical sciences co-operate towards the advancement of civilization with greater rapidity than the other sciences. Introduction to the History of the Earth before human tradition. By A. C. G. Jobert. Edward Bull, 19, Holles Street. dogmas, or by the priesthood of any symbolical worship, or by Natural theology?

Were it even possible for any mystic religions to support themselves without their main prop—blind credulity, the collusive plausibility with which they constantly assert, that the great debt of nature must be paid by all of us, ere we can participate in the everlasting bliss they so arrogantly promise, indisputably prove their confessed and utter incapacity ever to promote and realize our happiness on earth.

So long as the priest could be the poorest among men—he might with consistency be listened to and credited, but from the moment that he enjoyed the best things of this world, in food, furniture, and raiment, from the moment that a christian priest, for instance, steps into his carriage, his *holy* calling proves a mystification; for HE secures happiness *before* death.

These delusive hopes are, however, cherished by numbers of the present day, and the pertinacity and fondness with which the people cling to them, can only be accounted for by the mystical instruction given to youth, the source of such instruction being certain books called *Bibles* and *Gospels*, *Old* and *New Testament*.*

The natural effect of which early mystic instruction is the certain development of the organs of cre-

* These books were trumpeted forth as "good news for the poor," assuredly they meant good news for the rich—they being the parties evidently the most benefitted by what is now called religious instruction to the poor, and is not education. dulity, and the consequent discouragement and suppression of every thing like liberty of action, freedom of enquiry, energy of thought, and perspicuity of reasoning.

We would therefore say to the people of all classes, professions, and pursuits—let this great truth be paramount in your minds—that the fact antecedent to your mental slavery must be traced wITHIN your own organizatiou, and not WITHOUT. Once convinced of this, you will no longer hope to benefit by the reform of any mere outward abuses, so long as your inward feelings, sanction the empire of mysticism over your thoughts, or so long as your own ignorance compels you to allow it an absolute sway over your actions.

Liberty of thought, clearness of purpose, and wisdom of action, are exclusively the results of that CONVICTION which is forced upon the mind, by the succession, the series, and the concatenation of natural phenomena—phenomena which can never be revealed to man, but by the study of realities, through human physical science, and under the direction of well informed liberal minded and honest teachers, who, rejecting with disdain the aid of credulity and slavish fear, will lead you onward by the more ennobling principles of devotion to mental freedom, and to the welfare of your species.

No work that we ever heard of, is better adapted for the noble and salutary purposes of diffusing the knowledge of human organization, than the CONSTI-TUTION OF MAN, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO

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96 INSIDIOUS MYSTIFICATION OF REALITIES.

EXTERNAL OBJECTS, by George Combe*—we say, without exaggeration, that we deem it worth more, than all the Bibles and Prayer Books in Christendom, *now are*, or can ever become.

On the other hand, the public should be cautioned against the insidious mystifications of all the little amusing periodicals, published and distributed by Religious Tract Societies; such as the Saturday Magazine, Monthly Instructor, Weekly Visiter, &c.; the interesting matter they always contain, is often held up as a *bait* to allure the weak minded from the pure convictions of reality.

The philosopher should not for that discard them altogether; they confirm our views of the true nature of all symbolical worship, they proclaim aloud the influence and the new power of all physical knowledge over the dogmas and over the priest himself, who now become conscious of the inaptitude of his revelations and miracles to convince alone the human brain, dreams of protracting his power over mind, by harnessing his mystic Gods to the realities of nature. Thus does Sharon Turner call "Sacred History of the World," The Natural History of Plants.

Even the Bridgewater Treatises, now so much read and so well worth reading, are but the unconscious sacrifice of decrepit "*revelation*," at the shrine of the physical sciences to implore the youthful vigour of

* Fourth edition, 1835, re-printed for the people by the Henderson bequest, containing 110 pages, 8vo. of truly useful and interesting matter for 1s. 6d. only.

REALITY; and the reverend authors of these treatises* may perhaps live to see the day when the omnipotence of the auxiliary forces they so fondly enlisted in the *holy* cause of *blind faith*, shall turn round upon them to enthrone THOUGHT, INDUSTRY and SCIENCE, on the decayed altars of mysticism, as a useful *trinity* for the human brain, when educed and developed.

The wider spreading and greater diffusion of the study of human organization as it really is, must gradually tend to unite the two opposite poles of the sphere of speculative thought in error—termed spiritualism and materialism—by which man's reason and judgment have been so long distracted, that it is high time to expose the vain pretensions of either, to stand before the knowledge of reality.

(*) Rev. Dr. CHALMERS On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of M_{AN} —2 vols. 8vo. 3rd edition, 16s.

Rev. W. WHEWELL—Astronomy and General Physics, considered *with reference to* Natural Theology—4th edition 8vo. 9s. 6d.

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OF OLD SPIRITUALISM & MATERIALISM : MIND AND MATTER, or SOUL AND BODY.

IT is not without some reluctance that we enter upon so hackneyed a theme—but as our silence might be construed either into an assent to that part of the discourse, (section 35, and note 4,) or into indecision arising from incapacity, we shall endeavour to be at once intelligible and conclusive, in expressing as briefly as the subject will allow, our decided conviction that the sooner the words *spiritualism and materialism, mind and matter, soul and body,* are replaced in the dictionaries by *physical sensitive organization, modified by assimilation and by the impressions* OF RELATIONS, the better and the sooner shall we understand what we intend to impart to others, and consequently the greater will be our success in our endeavours to be understood by them.

In times when the brain of man fettered and degraded by the shackles of a mystic blind faith, was scarcely allowed the exercise of its functions : when to speak or to write, was to give an instant alarm to the ministers of error and superstition; a whole life might easily be spent in searching after theories, on the nature of matter and mind, or body and soul, in the vain hope of bringing them to bear upon the then unintelligible mysteries of spiritual faith. We say vain hope, because we contend that whatever might have been the success of the materialists, resting on the best logic of metaphysical arguments, spiritualism could never suffer from their attacks. The two systems having nothing in common but their absurdity, neither of them could in fact lose or gain any strength from the success or failure of the other.

The two systems must fall together before the new convictions obtained through the study of human organization. What was really forbidden by religious instruction, was *the use of our mental faculties* in any way but that, which we were trained up to follow, as the only one leading to what was *gravely and pompously called our salvation*.

The setting in action our physical organs, which when at work *generate thought*, was considered mortal sin, because the priest well knew that thought is in its nature wonderfully more prolific than faith, and that association of ideas, would reveal to us most useful secrets on the MENTAL continued PROGRESS of THE HUMAN SPECIES.

Now, neither materialism nor spiritualism are founded on the law of CONTINUED PROGRESS, and this circumstance alone, we believe, condemns them both to perish under the *lash* of the physical sciences, which are independent of either.

We are aware that to venture on publishing our convictions without some great name to give them weight and authority with the public, is almost useless, yet we trust in the daily increasing good sense of the people, and taking Lord Brougham's Discourse of Natural Theology to be nothing but a gauntlet thrown out to the human brain, in order to encourage others to do the same, we will make bold to state our reason for stigmatizing as absurd and totally useless, the notion of those, who may still contend that, because man has in his ignorance of the laws of nature coined the two words *spiritualism* and *materialism*, for the purpose of expressing two supposed differences in man, (which differences exist nowhere but in his own imagination,) these two words must forsooth designate positively and perpetually two distinct and separate natures, the one perishable, and the other eternal.

Yet, this theory has had a fine field, in which to play off its antic tricks, as well upon profound or interested ignorance, as upon semi-knowledge, and although its only effect upon us of the present day, is to excite our risible faculties, the impression it made upon those who lived in times when, what is now known, was not even suspected, must have been of a very opposite character.

But since men have been compelled to acknowledge that matter, (the part supposed perishable) is only transformed; that nothing in nature can be annihilated; and that nothing can be said to perish, nay, nor even, TO BE; since each, and all things coming under our cognizance move on towards a change of nature, form or sensation; we are at a loss to conceive what difference can possibly be now established, between a part called spiritual, said to be eternal, and another part called material which is never to perish. We believe both sytems to be equally absurd, because we know by observation, through our natural senses, that the world is composed of an infinite variety of bodies and organized substances, among which, MAN is to be found as ONE and nothing more.

We know that all those bodies or substances possess more or less the same constituent attributes.

That all bodies or substances occupy a certain space—are composed of many parts—have different forms—different modes of existence, distinguishing them from each other.

That besides all these distinguishing attributes, these bodies manifest different natural phenomena, internally, and externally—phenomena of development, of discernment in assimilation, of production, of sensation, of generation, of respiration, secretion, change, transformation, &c. &c.

Whenever we observe certain phenomena in one body which are *not* manifested by another one, we always find that the parts composing the one, are *different* from those which compose the other, we then find difference of kinds—difference of nature in the parts—or difference of arrangement only.

We know that all bodies manifesting the same phenomena are composed of similar parts, arranged or combined in the same manner, and on the contrary, we know that all bodies manifesting different phenomena, are either composed of different parts, or of the same parts, but differently arranged or combined.

The nature of the component parts, and the order of their arrangement, that is to say—their ORGANI- ZATION—is then, the FACT that distinguishes the bodies from each other, and *compels them* to manifest different phenomena.

"This being admitted, as the facts prove it, on what grounds can the two systems be established? The body, the substance we can see, but what is and where is the part called spiritual? Where is, and what is the "soul?"

We have been gravely and dogmatically told that the *soul* is an invisible part that *thinks*, that *feels*, that *acts*—very well—but in this answer two things are asserted."

1st, the existence of certain phenomena of a particular nature.

2nd, the existence of something distinct from the body, by which something *it is assumed*, (not demonstrated) that each phenomena are manifested.

If then we cannot deny the phenomena which are evidently true such as *thinking*, *feeling*, *acting*, &c. we may well ask, why, it is attempted to account for them upon any other grounds, than that of their being the mere results of organization itself.

Before we can be warranted in admitting anything besides the organization in the act of assimilating, that is, any thing besides LIFE, or a series of lives, the other part called "spiritual" should be obvious to our senses, or at least we have a right to require proof equal to demonstration, that the body with all its parts, or in other words, that the organization cannot of itself manifest all those phenomena.

Besides how can we be justified as consistent rea-

soners, (unless indeed we allow the aberration of the imagination, at a time when physical facts could not possibly be known, to be a law,) in attributing one class of phenomena such as *digestion*, secretion, circulation, respiration, &c. to the organization and in refusing to refer equally all the others to it? be it slow or quick—strong or feeble—perceptible or imperceptible to our senses—you can form no other idea of it but one of motion: the difference is but in degree or in appearance.

Can our sensations, will, thoughts, be anything else than impressions and reactions made upon and without an organized sensitive substance, called the human body ? do not the different words used to express our different feelings *imply each and all the idea of movement* ?

What is the faculty of thinking if not the human power of producing thought, and what is thought but a physical elaboration of the nervous centre, (the brain) just as the liver elaborates bile—as the male organs elaborate fecundity—for all these elaborations are, when carried to excess, equally detrimental to the substance that produced them; thought and meditation tire, fatigue, and wear out the organs peculiar to their actions, just as much as any excessive muscular exertion tires and strains other glands.* Here then the spiritual (as some call it) is identified with the material precisely in the same manner as matter (as others call it) is identified with mind by Mallebranch or Berkely.

* New System of Organic Chemistry, p. 217 § 508, French ed.

"Thus it is that spiritualists and materialists have endeavoured to explain—either the outside by the inside; or the inside by the outside; thus in consequence of some writers admitting, that all the phenomena of matter must be explained only by the inward effects: and of others contending, that the same phenomena can only be explained by the movements manifested outside: the phenomena of matter become identified with those of mind—and those of mind identified with those of matter.

"They first imagined an entity; then making the *object* to the image of the *subject*, or the *subject* to the image of the *object*: they arrived at these conclusions:—the *spiritualist*, that there was no matter; and the *materialist*, that there was no soul;* so that between both absurdities nothing at all could remain in existence.

But why should we be surprised at this? the *spiritualist* making no use of his external senses, seeks for matter *through his inward feelings only*, and cannot find it.

The materialist on the other hand without making any use of his inward feelings, seeks for the soul of the spiritualist out of himself with his external senses only, and therefore never can find it.

How could it be otherwise? the former is astonished how any one can believe in *matter*—the latter is astonished how any one can believe in *soul*—each having for the other the most profound contempt—

* Jouffroy-" mélanges philosophiques."

nothing is more natural, to aberation, but at the same time nothing can be more ridiculous.

It is neither more nor less than the case of two incomplete, imperfect organizations—It is the case of two men, supposed to be—the one without his external senses: the other without his inward feelings, or conscience.

The spiritualist and the materialist are each of them in their abstraction but half-men—half organized substances, such as do not exist in nature; or if we take them for whole and complete, they both actually pretend that by first mutilating themselves philosophically, they can forsooth mutilate the world at pleasure, in order to establish their system.

In fine " the best refutation of materialism is pure spiritualism, and conversely the best refutation of spiritualism is pure materialism," both separate, are false, because in reality they are ONE, and as one they are true in the human body, considered as what it really is—an ORGANIZED SENSITIVE SUBSTANCE of the first order, possessing, manifesting, and imparting the phenomena of thought, reflection, discernment, intelligence, in a much higher combination than any other known organization—yet differing from all other in degree, and in degree only.

The day is not far distant when all academies, colleges, universities, and schools must admit that all abstractions, all ideology, and all religions belong to the natural history of the human species—because, without the RELIGIOUS FEELING, which is the expression of a natural want—there could never have been any

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religion at all, and as there can be no such thing as a sensation, a feeling, or want, without some organ or fibre to make the substance conscious of the same, (which may be called here the mystic sense) that sense belongs as much to the physical nature of man, as any other part of his body.

The errors of fiction then, appear to have constituted the first expanding impressions, the first elevated sensations felt by animal man; but these errors were necessary only as a *first* attempt, as an *instinctive essay* of the specie to begin and proceed onwards in the progressive scale of knowledge, for which the human substance *must have been organized from its very first appearance upon earth*; thus was *blind faith* to occupy *pro-tempore* only, the vacuum of THOUGHT and SCIENCE which the subsequent modification of time and relation were to generate and develop in the human brain, as a NEW MEDIATING POWER.

No!—no!—rational MAN shall no longer allow himself to be thus divided into two abstractions, the better to serve the *apparently* opposite purposes of **PRIEST-CRAFT** on one side, and of **SCEPTISISM** on the other ; we say *apparently*, for in reality, both are unconsciously working for the perpetuality of each other.

Whatever position the two sects may assume in the abstract—the fact is that each of them, spiritualists and materialists, has been compelled to make use of the same organ of thought for imagining either system, with reference—the former to *inward feeling*; the latter, to *outward relations*; which being in fact one and the same—(the consciousness of a sensitive

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organization) are, when separated in abstruction, but the wanderings of the natural instinctive wish to discover how to know more—a *prospective appetite* (if it may be so called) or in plain term—a physical want incessantly felt by the human substance, seeking how to ascend higher and higher the scale of mental perfectibility.

In fine, the impossibity of either of the systems being true, appears to us* evident by admitting the simple fact, that the human organization is a sensitive compound, which generates in succession imagination and reason,-or thought and reflection through the material impressions or feelings made upon it or within it by the infinite variety of its relations with the external world; and that both imagination that expands the sensitive faculties, and reason that curbs and restrains them by analysis and comparison, (when allowed so to do) are two natural results, products, qualities, properties, powers, (call them what you will) of the human organization, which modifying each other in a thousand different ways, generate more or less of a third feeling called judgment, man's only safe rule of action.

* We are fully aware that nothing can be more unphilosophical than to be positive and dogmatical on any subject,—for even if excessive sceptism could be maintained, it would not be more destructive to all just reasoning and inquiry, than excessive dogmatism;—When men are the most sure and arrogant, they are commonly the most mistaken.

Cool deliberation and suspense can alone secure us from the grossest absurdities.

HUME.

OF THE DOCTRINE OF CAUSE AND EFFECT.

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Having thus disposed of materialism and spiritualism, to our own satisfaction, at least, if not to that of all our readers, we feel called upon to state our impression on the doctrine of "cause and effect," two words alternately given to the same fact, and expressing the two relations which any natural fact appears to have with a subsequent and a preceding one.

The "Discourse" says on this (p. 231) "our idea "of power and causation are solid and well founded, "although they only refer to a power or a causation "which may or may not be." We must here beg pardon to differ; for so little are we disposed to believe them "solid and well founded," or that the impressions to be conveyed are accurately expressed, that we wish the word cause to be for ever expunged.

Science knows only in some instances the *invariable antecedent fact*, and when it knows it not, *it actually knows nothing*. Truly the "Discourse" adds (p. 232)—" of necessary causation we can, by " no possibility, know any thing"—agreed. Why, then, we beg leave to ask, do you imagine something? Why mention at all an " immense being"— a "*first cause*"—about which it is admitted all the while that

man can actually know nothing, nor even conceive any thing that is not exclusively derived from HIM-SELF nor which for HIMSELF is not equally true? MAN, forsooth, whose remoteness from any connection with the first cause is sufficiently proved by those geological facts, which shew him to have been necessarily the last of a long series of facts, comprehending many millions of ages ?

Do we obtain any clearer idea or any fuller demonstration by placing the word "first" before the word "cause"—knowing that we do it entirely in the darkness of ignorance? knowing that we have no fact but our own ignorance to warrant us in so doing? —none whatever; and although the expression has long been used and still is enforced on belief in certain quarters to overawe credulity, to deceive the vulgar, to damp the spirit of innovatiou, and to retard further substantial inquiry: we must protest against the continuance of any system of tuition which presumes to inculcate unintelligibility.

The curiosity natural to youth will be far more usefully exercised, and rendered far more capable of increasing the stock of human knowledge, by reflection on facts, and through the experience at which we naturally arrive, by an attentive observation of the *positive* and the real, than it ever can be by confining it within the narrow circle of mystical meditation, or of superstitious practices.

When physical science proceeding always on the evidence of reality, either retrospectively from antecedent to antecedent—or prospectively from consequent to consequent, shall point out at once where and wherefore the visible horizon of our faculties of observation terminate for the present—coming generations will know where and how to direct their combined efforts for the advancement of all sciences one step further and so on, and so on, without any bounds, limits, or end now conceivable.

For if anything "*eternal*" or rather "established" can be conceived by the human brain meditating upon space and motion, it is only that continual movement, which however slow to our senses is incessantly operating changes of condition, position, and relation in the organic world in particular, as well as in the universe generally, hence the harmony so much admired is after all *but a succession of constituted periods, within distant epochs of* CONSTITUENT PHY-SICAL REVOLUTIONS.

Although we think that Dr. Brown, in his inquiry into the relation of *cause* and *effect*, (a work which we believe is not referred to in the discourse,) might have gone farther than he has done, we shall conclude our remarks, by a short extract from it.

but in all this variety of words we mean nothing more than our belief, that when a solid metal (for instance) is subjected for a certain time to the application of a strong heat, it will begin afterwards to exist in that different state which is termed liquidity we believe that in all past time in the same circumstances, it would have exhibited the same change, and that it will continue to do so, in the same circumstances, in all future time.

A cause therefore, in the fullest definition which it philosophically admits, may be said to be, that, which immediately precedes any change and which existing at any time in similar circumstances has been always, and will be always, immediately followed by similar change.

"Power is only another word for expressing abstractedly and briefly the antecedence itself, and the invariableness of relation."

"The words property and quality admit of exactly the same definition; expressing only a certain relation of invariable antecedence, and consequences in changes that take place on the presence of the substance to which they are ascribed.—They are strictly synonymous with power; or at least the only difference is, that property and quality as commonly used, comprehend both the powers and susceptibilities of being changed."

"The powers, properties, or qualities of a substance are not to be regarded then, as ANY THING SUPERAD-DED TO THE SUBSTANCE OR DISTINCT FROM IT—they are only the substance itself, considered in relation to various changes that take place, when it exists in peculiar circumstances."

How then it will be asked must the words "eternal truths," be now understood, words so hastily claimed for all the mysterious creeds and religious dogmas so much dreaded by the timorous and prejudiced, and so tyrannically enforced by all Roman or protestant malignant inquisitors?

We hesitste not to answer that, according to our conviction, the *eternal* truths of all scriptural books, the ground of all mystic faith, must be viewed by reason as nothing more nor less than a long but temporary moral training, operating on mankind in ignorance of reality, as a preliminary step in the irresistible natural law of continued movement for progressive development.

The ministers of the christian as well as of all other symbolical worships, have long since accomplished (in Europe at least,) this important, difficult, and glorious mission; for it is an undeniable fact that the utmost of their mystical power—though at present assisted in this country by ultra-protestant declamation—has had of late but a retarding, baneful and most withering influence upon the mental faculties of *intellectual man*.

But while we give this as our opinion, few can value or respect more than we do, the former utility of this privileged class, in their exercise of a beneficial control over *animal* man—in their having administered to the organic wants of his iguorance in having guided, comforted and encouraged through the hard-

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ships and trials of a savage and barbarous state of primitive existence, a most sensitive substance, organised from the beginning to aspire after the convictions of reality—a substance, which, while that conviction was being elaborated by the hand of time, reposed its blind faith upon fiction, error, and falsehood, as the only possible substitute that could feed and fully satisfy the instinctive wish to know the origin of its own being and that of the visible universe.

Thus only, can the fond credulity of a long night of mental darkness be understood.

Thus only, can be explained the painful and obstinate tenacity of faith in credulous ignorance, and the actual impossibility of reconciling it with real knowledge.

Thus only, can we account for the virtues and sufferings of martyrdom, in times when the physical sciences not having yet impressed man with the attractive powers of mental conviction:—Life without faith appeared to him worse than death, because the nobler feeling, more in harmony with THOUGHT could then be neither tendered in exchange, nor obtained by any means.

Thus only, can be understood the long period during which a religious instruction was deemed the most useful and the most important of all occupations, and during which no calling was looked upon as respectable without it.

In those days, to be uninstructed in some religion or other, incurred the stigma of ignorance, because at that time religion alone could possibly distinguish the animal man from the brutes. His guilt and deficiency not consisting, it is true, in being without a religion (as the word is now understood,) but in being actually without the KNOWLEDGE considered at that time as the only one worth being taught.

Thus, at all times, HAS IGNORANCE BEEN A CONTINUAL SUBJECT OF REPROACH. The feeling is the same in the present day, but the nature and the quantum of knowledge, the objects of enquiry, the modes of research, the means of observation, having converted mere instruction into positive educationhaving called into action the mental powers doomed during the reign of credulity to a mere dormant state of existence-no one should be surprised to see the day coming-and it already begins to dawn-when to be without religion or superstition will not only be no longer a ground of reproach, but when none shall be deemed respectable, well-informed, honest, and trustworthy in any capacity, who are left ignorant of any of the physical sciences, which invariably replace MENTAL CONVICTION for blind faith.*

* "What ought the Church to be, so as to have no ground of dissent, and be really useful? In two words, I answer—what it was in the original—A SCHOOL. What kind of a School? A School for positive and real knowledge; for no other revelation, than that made by the physical sciences without mystery, and for the practical use and benefit of every human being; without parade or pomp, even without ceremony beyond what order, good teaching, and real education may require."

Church Reform, by R. Carlisle, 1835, p. 13.

"A Church had originally no other intelligible meaning

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In short, so many creeds and dogmas and gospels, under the garb of "*Eternal truths*" and of good news to the poor, have already succeeded each other with

than a gathering of the people in districts for purposes of mutual inquiry and mutual instruction; for revelation of *real* knowledge *wanted by the human mind* for *continued* mental improvement, and not for mystery, nor dramatic ceremony, nor superstition, nor idolatry."—*Ibid*, p. 14.

"On what rock, then, must the Church be built, so that the 'gates of Hell,' or of evil design, or of dissent, may not prevail against it? On what but *positive real* KNOWLEDGE? Is it now so built? Is not rather the present ministry of the Church more afraid of real KNOWLEDGE than of the people's ignorant dissent;—more of free discussion than of any kind of superstition? The dissent of knowledge and the dissent of ignorance, though disunited, are becoming too powerful for your knowledgeless church; and you have consented to speak of its necessary reform? To which *then* will you yield, or whom will you join—those who dissent by knowledge, or those by ignorance? If you take the former, your work will be perfected at once; if the latter, your work will never be done, and you will become weaker and weaker."—*Ibid*, p· 16.

"What can confer more dignity on the 'Dignitaries of the Church' than for the legislature to say to them—'Feed the people with *nothing but real positive* knowledge, and no longer fill them with superstitions?" If I understand human nature rightly, it has more pleasure in honesty than in dishonesty.

"Would the experimental lecture of a Faraday desecrate the building? or would a beautiful reflected picture of the heavens and its explanation lessen the true spirit of devotion? Would the real instruction *(education)* of children in matters of physical science be of less importance than the parrot-like catechism of the language of the present mystery? Give the people something which they can *see*, feel, and know to be useful, which they can reduce to practice."—*Ibid*, p. 42-43.

116 RATIONAL MEANING OF ETERNAL TRUTHS.

no other result for the people of the earth, than to maintain ignorance in want and misery :—so many religions still exist to repeat the same routine, age after age, while yet but one is presumed by each to deserve any faith as an *eternal* truth—that it is high time for the true friends of humanity to make an appeal to intelligence, and to proclaim aloud to the religious world this fundamental maxim of common sense: That any mysterious dogmas or symbolical worship, so far from being an "eternal truth," never contained the least particle of verity, except during that period of time in which the portion of mankind that had any blind faith in them, felt disposed, or remained at liberty so to indulge their credulity,

All religions have necessarily degenerated, by the contention between sectarian chiefs—just as the conquests of political liberty have been nullified by the party spirit of its ignorant leaders.

Let but a national liberal education and true national justice be allowed and promulgated by authority, to the full extent desired by all unprejudiced, impartial, and cultivated minds;—let powerful and exclusive interests be exerted only for reducing to practice the conclusions to which reason, harmonizing with the natural wants of human organization must arrive: and then may we hope to see in our own time the adoption of more rational materials and better methods of education than any country has ever yet adopted.

But as aristocratic notions, theological pursuits, and mere classical learning tend to perpetuate the monstrous association of *spiritual* and temporal rulers, and as such *notions*, *pursuits*, *and learning*, have had their remote origin in the blind faith and mysteries of the first school, and having all been founded on *stationary* dogmas, they never can be expected to support the movement in favor of continued mental development and *general* utility.

Rulers so trained will be unable to understand how it is, that in spite of their mystified association for perpetual power, MAN has at last acquired, through ages of hard labour in slavery, or in salaried bondage, the mental development—the knowledge of himself —the inventive creating genius—the philosophy of mechanical powers, which, happily combined, constitute him now the GENERATOR OF THOUGHT and of INTELLIGENCE upon this planet.

The ignorant bigot may shrink from the sentiment, and call it a most *damnable impiety*: yet we tell him, in his own language, that if it be not so, the words "LORD OF THE CREATION" given to MAN in the book of his Christian mysteries, which he professes to believe in, remain for ever mere nonsense and mockery. Such they are in fact, so long as the ignorance and misery of the most useful of all classes continue, to the shame of modern civilization, to degrade and depress industry, labour, and science; since it is labour, science, industry, and useful exertion, that really constitute MAN the MASTER, DIRECTOR and CON-TROLLER of the Elements—*i. e.* Lord of the creation.

And why is it still so? if not that all political and social arrangements, whether conducted by "arrogant Tories," by "shuffling hesitating Whigs," or by "Sham Reformers," are still thought by each and all of them, to be designed to curb down, for ever and ever, their laws and regulations, under the arbitrary dictum of mystical dogmas, expounded by a priesthood who could never have ruled so comfortably (to themselves,) over the credulity of the people, if their vocation had not been actually necessary and most natural FOR a TIME ONLY, in order to soothe the terrors of human organization, when labouring under the incapacity of profound ignorance and blind terror.

And here comes in a word to sincere reformers.

Pray, gentlemen, talk not then so loudly about the future blessings of civil and religious liberty, whilst you suffer your own children to be trained, at our public and private schools, so as to become the tyrants of their wives, and the slaves of their priests, as their fathers had been before them:

" Shall man be free, while woman is a slave ?

" Can thought be free, while belief is enforced ?"

Know that emancipation from ignorance must precede liberty—go on shamming reform—remain uncovered when in the presence of your Lords*—renounce the dignity of human nature, and continue to kiss the book of blind faith in fiction, before you dare to think or to give your opinion on realities;—in short, hold your tongue and obey, for then at least, will your

* The member for Finsbury has done more for *renovation*, by the fact of his covering himself when the Lords put on *their hats*, than all the radical speeches of the last 50 years. And why? Because a stronger impression was produced.—I835.

conduct be consistent with the early education forced upon you and your offspring.

But if at last you should really think of acting in earnest, first insist upon election by ballot in every one department of social polity*—abjure, then, all errors—abandon your prejudices, promote education without mysticism, and turn all your thoughts to radical RENOVATION, rather than babble, year after year, about the means of reforming customs, usages, and practices, which, having their origin in profound ignorance of the irresistible wants and progressive powers of mental organization, may perhaps decay, fall, and be abolished altogether by the force of time, but never, never, can be reformed.

ALL is in ALL, and these words are not misplaced here.

* "Property qualification was not necessary in Scotland; any one without a single farthing might be returned for a Scotch burgh. The standard of intellect, not of purse, regulated elections there—(Hear)—and yet nothing was better than the representation of Scotland, for there was no deference to rank or to wealth—MIND REGULATED ALL.

"The great fault he found with the people was, that they were too aristocratical, for they did not choose their representatives from those nearest their own rank. It was generally found that, of two candidates, they preferred the one placed highest above them, and rejected the other. It was this abandonment of their own station, which caused others to hold the scorpion lash over the people. (Hear.) But it was not sufficient that the House of Commons was reformed, for there were two other branches of the constitution, the King and the House of Lords. Of these, the former could do no wrong, and the House of Lords nothing right; and thus were

120 WHAT MEANS "SAVING THE PEOPLE."

Education in realities therefore cannot be too much encouraged, for it is the superstition of credulity which alone necessitates a continuation of the mental tyranny of Priestcraft. No educated people can ever have too much knowledge, nor too much liberty— IGNORANCE ALONE MUST BE DREADED.

Nothing is more opposed to the mental emancipation of the people, than to be repeating incessantly (as our *Conservatives* do) that "the people must be saved from themselves;" kind-hearted hypocrites.

Is it not instilling into the people a dread, a mistrust of themselves ?

Is it not perpetuating pusilanimity and cowardice?

Is it not compressing and clogging the faculties of the brain, when it would be more really useful and far more generous to expand them with mundane hope and mental courage ?

"Then let all convictions be published and freely circulated; and as the progressive march of mankind knows no rest, the public press should thus

the people neglected. How could it be expected that the House of Commons would try to destroy that sacred college, into which they hoped to enter some day themselves, where they would have no contested elections to encounter, at which they were forced to ask the people for their 'sweet voices' with a smiling face, whilst they internally cursed the necessity which constrained them to do so. (Cheers.) If it was foolish to ask for exorbitant alms, it was foolish to request the House of Commons to destroy the college they looked forward to themselves. First a reform should take place in the Upper House, and then they could hope for amendment in the Lower."—(O'Connor's speech, 5th January 1836.)—True Sun of 10th Jan. 1836.

become free and unshackled, the vanguard of civilization.

"It belongs to the press to open the pages of time to come—to question all new ideas, all superstitions, and to be answered, in order that the people may judge for themselves—but how few printers and publishers or teachers can truly understand or appreciate the dignity of their vocation !*

* "We may indeed attribute a great part of the success of superstition to the organs of fear, ideality, and wonder, in the human mind—to the influence of early education by brutish nurses and dogmatical pedagogues, and to the excitement occasioned by the gloomy prophecies and furious denunciation of pulpited ignorance. But the grand support of superstition is from those whose greatest interest is to put down superstition. Physicians, historians, legislators, schoolmasters, printers and publishers, newspaper editors, and political economists, are the most enlightened and useful of literati; and if properly united for their own (the public) benefit, *might rule the world*. Yet do these very men (who, in a land of perfect superstition, would for the most part be annihilated) uphold and protect their archenemy by maintaining the fatal maxim, that *it is necessary to deceive the vulgar*.....

"...... The grown-up generation may well be despaired of; human beings have hitherto been for the most part mere masses of variously compounded folly, ignorance, and villany. But let us not despair of the future generation. The descendants of the most ignorant bigot, or of the most cruel despot, is as capable of receiving real useful knowledge as the child of the most profound philosopher.

"The young of the 'vulgar' should therefore now be educated, and no longer deceived; and the selfish or short-sighted rulers, who give themselves no pains to improve the intellect of the rising generation, by diffusing an unlimited knowledge of reality, ought to be condemned to banishment and contempt." —Appendix the First to Plutarchus on Superstition, by JULIAN HIBBERT.

122 NOT INSULT OR PASSION, BUT DISCUSSION.

Those who are either silent, or who substitute abuses and insult for fair discussion—personalities for enquiry, or passion for conviction—those, we say, are greatly in the wrong, and totally forgetful of their duty as intelligent beings.

To persecute, to punish, or to tax the daily diffusion of new ideas, when it is admitted by all. either secretly or openly, that our fundamental notions of rule and action are false and rotten to the core—" is a profanation of the new SANCTUARY of THOUGHT and SCIENCE, for it is in that sanctuary alone that the destinies of mankind are henceforth to be discussed, and not, as heretofore, in the paper 'revelations' of this, or that age."

The vain attempt of *renovating* theology by blending *fiction* with *facts* in metaphysics, is an insult to the common sense and to the wants of the age.

The priesthood of Europe have done enough, as directors and teachers, to prove their incapacity to prolong their natural mission.

Reflect only a moment on the present moral existence and physical privation of all the labouring and patient producers belonging to this portion of the inhabitable globe—the most civilized, the most wealthy, and the most powerful.

Shall the arts and sciences proclaim new and easy means of amply rewarding the skill, industry, and labour of the many—in vain ?

Shall they point out new and easy mechanical powers of production and communication for all, and between all the people of the earth—in vain? Shall the OWENS, the THOMPSONS, the ST. SI-MONS, the FOURIERS, the great men of our time, and others, have exercised, by gigantic labour and godlike eloquence, a salutary and lasting influence over the operatives of Europe—in vain ?

Shall they have spent the best part of their lives and all their fortunes in experiments, to prove by practical demonstration, how to redeem industry and labour from the prejudices that degrade them—how to remove the social barriers that surround them and how to apply the poor rates of England so as to extinguish them—and all in vain ?

Shall the incomparable and ever-persecuted Raspail of Paris have proved by *physical* demonstration, that MORALITY and VIRTUE were simply natural WANTS of our organization to be FELT ONLY after its more indispensable and more imperious wants had been fully satisfied—in vain? Impossible!

For, Aristocratic power which tyrannizes over the people by conquest—priestcraft which tyrannizes now over mind by perpetuating the credulity of ignorance —and modern financial despotism which tyrannizes over skill, industry, and labour, by the funding system on the plan of perpetual annuities : though still idolized, respected, and obeyed, as *faith loyal*, *faith mystical*, and *faith national*, to the exclusive advantage of hardly ONE TWELFTH PART of the POPULA-TION OF EUROPE, are yet but three successive usurpations over ignorance.

Reflect only on what, and and who those are, that

124 INGRESS OF A NEW RELIGIOUS LIGHT.

are *now* sent for and repeatedly consulted by the civil power in cases of difficulty and emergency?

Are they the *augurs*, the Prelates, the divines, or the orthodox of the day, as in times of yore *when they alone possessed knowledge*? No! no! those who now hold counsel with our rulers, are the practical men of industry, of trade, of science; the manufacturer, the farmer, the producer, the mechanic.

Why, then, do not modern nations endeavour to compose exclusively their *Lords* and Commons of the most distinguished practical men of all useful trades, of all real knowledge, and of mental capacity?

Why continue to be ruled by Episcopal fictions and by feudal precedents, when the knowledge of reality and utility is repeatedly knocking at the door—repeatedly summoned to give evidence, and to supply the deficiency, of ignorance in power?

"But lo! the dim, feeble, unsteady, and flickering light of all the existing superstitions, or, as they are called, *revelations*, is gradually going out; while a better light—a light more serene, diffusive, consistent, and exhilirating—the light of real science—the *new* RELIGIOUS LIGHT, is coming in, and will finally find an ingress into every human brain.*

"It cannot be repeated too often, even to the editors of our liberal and radical press, that the hopes of

* The Religion of the Universe, by R. Fellowes.—A wellwritten and now a most useful book; not too much in advance of the age, and which, for that very reason, may be read with advantage and profit by all sincere believers. mankind do not rest on the diplomatic leading articles of this or that paper: What can such compositions have to do with the working classes, or with the reflecting mind of any class?

"Speak to the public about the well-being of those masses now bent down under the mystic chains of their own ignorance ; propose some new kind of county and parish associations, by which rates may be abolished, and yet poverty made intelligent and comfortable ; tell us of the means by which moral worth may be produced and maintained; talk to us of a brotherhood for exterminating individual ignorance and selfishness; of self abnegation-of the pardon of public and private offences-of conciliating the different interests-of the ameliorations of daily life; how to substitute a conscience of moral rectitude for the confused mass of obsolete mystic laws-how to substitute rational schools for demoralizing prisonshow to abolish all penalties-how to put an end to legal and to private vengeance-how to procure land for communities of paupers, so long as pauperism is to be a necessary consequence of a vicious system -how to transform by them, and for them, the most inferior lands into good alluvial soil.*

* The poor's rates are at last somewhat reduced (1836), and crime has diminished ! But why? Because of the thousands now employed, in digging and building for railroads, which railroads, by facilitating the transmission and the transmutation of soils, must increase a thousand fold the palatable products of the earth. Thus ever will one step made in practical progress lead mankind onwards to still more useful discoveries. 126 WHAT ARE BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETIES?

These, and many other objects of practical utility, would tend far more than diplomatic articles or religious tracts to supply the wants of the many, to satisfy intelligence, and to relieve the painful thoughts of some, who feel, and who reflect upon, the enormous amount of social injustice and mystification.

In the mean time, no real progress has actually been made in rational education, nor can any be expected, so long as the training of youth entrusted to our "malignant" orthodox priesthood, remains nearly the same to this day as it was two centuries ago.

What are now the most exciting topics of religious aberration among all classes of the people?

MISSIONARY, BIBLE, and TRACT SOCIETIES, where shoals of sectarian disputants, still attract ignorant crowds, who run, like bedlamites; to hear and determine which of the contending fanatics shall best succeed to mystify them by expounding religious dogmas, just as much intelligible as they are infallible.

"Notwithstanding the ungenerous and sectarian views of those societies, and our firm persuasion of the speedy dissolution of the mystical fabric, which they assiduously support in Europe, we regard with peculiar interest and satisfaction the work in which they are engaged. But it is to the foreign circulation alone that we wish to direct the reader's attention, as that is what we call the good department of the society's operations. Abroad they are the movement party—INNOVATORS; at home they are the STAGNANT party—supporters of errors and corruption. The difference is infinite. "At home these tracts are by no means calculated for the spirit of our population; no doubt they affect many and convert some; Mahometan tracts would do the same. They convince some simple souls that they are great sinners, that the Holy Ghost is very angry with them, and that the jaws of hell are gaping to devour them.

"This conviction being produced, the poor creatures read a chapter in the bible, pray upon their knees, look very sad, and go to church on a Sunday; and this is called by the tract-men 'winning souls to Christ,' and ' plucking brands out of the burning furnace.'

"All this, we acknowledge, is effected, and when it is effected upon dissolute characters, drunkards, debauchees, swearers, liars, &c. it is good, inasmuch as it is better for men and women to be troubling themselves with religious melancholy, than annoying the community with disgusting vices; but when the simple, the cheerful, the light hearted, and innocent are caught by these nets of the *arch-enemy of human happiness*, we deplore the result. This is often the case; more frequently, however, its stale advice and obsolete cant pass by the ears of the listless reader like the idle wind, which he regards not.

"Abroad, the tracts are among the people what the unstamped and radical press is amongst ourselves; and the Priests might well be accused of a most glaring inconsistency in encouraging and practising rebellion and infidelity in other countries, whilst they reprobate, in unmeasured terms, the equally conscientious and successful innovators who oppose them at home. The argument against rebellion and innovation, therefore, comes with a very bad grace from the mouth of the Priest or Christian of any denomination, for, all parties belong to the new '*Propaganda Fide*,' and aim a deadly blow at the old superstitions of the world. What else do we ?

"Our aim is the same as theirs, and our justification the same, namely, OUR OWN CONVICTION. But there is a mighty difference between us, for whilst they regard us with abhorence as enemies of their God, and as deserted by his spirit, we view them only as *instruments of progress abroad*, and of *retard* at home."*

* The SHEPHERD, No 25, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, Author of Christ and Anti-Christ, or Good and Evil.—Cousins, 18, Duke Street, Lincolns Inn.—The Shepherd contains under the title "SYSTEM of NATURE" an introduction to the PHILOSOPHY of RATIONALISM, the best adapted that we know of, to promote the mental emancipation of such biblical readers, as may wish to combine a little real THOUGHT with their pious meditation.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

GENERATED BY PERUSING

LORD BROUGHAM'S

DISCOURSE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY;

OR

PHRENOLOGY VERSUS PSYCHOLOGY.

BY A STUDENT IN REALITIES.

PART III.

" Men change with fortune, manners change with clime, Tenets with books, and principles with time."-Pope.

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THEOREM.

I.

"No sooner does a religious creed begin to print a *rea*soning catechism—no sooner does political absolutism publish an *explanatory journal*—than both hasten their downfall; the fact of their compulsory explanation being precisely what constitutes the triumph of real knowledge.

Every religious system which rests upon *fixed* articles of faith must, if it regard its own existence, make authority, not ratiocination, its principle; for, the moment that it has recourse to philosophy for assistance, its doom is cast *c'est le commencement de sa fin.*"

All the endeavours of religion to defend herself—all her metaphysical verbiage—can produce no other effect than that of making her flounder still more in the mire of contradiction, and of plunging her into absurdities the most glaring into difficulties the most inextricable.*

^{*} The serious import of our theorems has induced us to reproduce here those to part I. and II. of the NEW SANCTUARY.

SINCE an organic instinctive wish for, and an inherent want of, some knowledge, constitute the very reality and essence of the religious feeling in ignorance of nature, RELIGIONS, *properly so called*, are not only completely out of the reach of destruction, but are, ever beyond the apprehension of it.

As, however, all things, impressions, and ideas, whether denominated physical, moral, or intellectual, are subject to vicissitude and change, religious feelings and notions must, of necessity, obey, in common with the rest, the natural law of HUMAN PROGRESSIVENESS.

Consequently, all fixed dogmas, all articles of faith in mystic worship, as well as all opinions liable to controversy, which have hitherto *mediated*, or are now in actual progress of MEDIATION for mankind, have undergone, or are undergoing, gradual and successive modifications; changing naturally with the character of the age, and insensibly disappearing, until finally absorbed by the greater attraction of a NEW MEDIATING influence, more in harmony with TIME and THOUGHT than the preceding one.

Hence, nothing can be more futile, more unreasonable, and more fraught with prejudice or superstition, than the regrets, lamentations, and sectarian fears incessantly repeated by departing generations, respecting the eternity of their respective churches.*

^{*} See pages 5, 34, 39, 44, 45, 52, 61, 72, and 76 to 80.

HUMAN THOUGHT is not confined to the spot where MAN may rest—its property is to interrogate the present, that the past may be understood, and the future foreseen.

" It is not the mere picture of nature which will satisfy THOUGHT, *it must have* nature's history, and all religions are in reality, an attempt to give an history of nature, but as the future is only an indefinite progression, so history is only an unlimited consequence.

"Let us, therefore, be consistent in our studies, nor fear to push consequences as far as *that infinity*, by which alone we can *fancy* any limits to nature;—absurdity of reasoning is equally found in the point at which we^{*} STOP, as in that at which we DIVARICATE."

To those who, influenced by mystic fears, dread real knowledge, as infidelity, and who imagine they can discover, in our view of religious faith, the taint of Atheism : —which is but a mental aberration opposed to superstition, as one false reasoning is opposed to another,—we will say with Fontenelle :

WE ARE TOO RELIGIOUS TO BE OF YOUR RELIGION.

We cannot believe as you do, because we know of NATURAL POWERS which far transcend your mystic Deities—OURS imply no other mediation for man, than the natural intervention which all organised substances more or less depend upon, for their development, existence, and welfare; they need no other sanctuary than the progressive influence of THOUGHT and SCIENCE—no other gospel, than the universe; and, lastly, they require no other worship, than the study of man and the universe through observation, research, comparison, reflection, and judgment.*

^{*} See, New System of Physiology by Raspail.—I. B. BAILLIERE, Regent Street. 219.

NEW SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE.

INTRODUCTION TO PART III:

Addressed more particularly to the Religious Mystics who were kind enough to give us a friendly hint that it might be DANGEROUS TO PUBLISH NEW TRUTHS.

WE come in the name of no one; we are enlisted under no banners, and we belong to no sect.

We hesitate not to affirm of the whole of the human species—without any distinction of caste, colour, sect, or creed—that while they remain in profound ignorance of nature, their sensitive organization will compel them, through irresistible impression, to believe in some illustration or other,—to embody into some system or other—the whole of the things unknown; and that no other possible beginning of knowledge can be conceived.

How, in fact, could they have been so long guided and governed by ignorance *similar to their own*? and how could they have lived united as progressive social beings (unprovided with either records or real knowledge) otherwise than through mystic bonds of a *blind faith* which, by dispensing persuasion to each and all, allayed the physical pangs of organic sensitiveness.

Time, however, rolled on, and men found in nature a succession of objects which, at first exciting their fear, wonder, or admiration, were soon worshipped as supernatural powers, and became represented by the then rude art of the carver or the sculptor. Living animals!—imaginary monsters! the elements, and even human passions and feelings!—as in later times, the crucifix! the crescent! and every other mystic symbol emblematical of knowledge TO COME, have acted as mysterious MEDIATIONS, to supply the most urgent, primitive organic wants of man, whom it, at the same time, prostrated, by no means then, an unwilling slave, at the foot of a thousand different mystic altars.*

To the long night of blind credulity succeeded, at last, the day of real knowledge. It was exclusively reserved for human THOUGHT, applied to facts, to generate skill, industry, and science; from industry and observation sprung experience, whose province it was, and still is, to lead men onwards from an ignorance of the realities of nature, to a gradually increasing acquaintance with, and true knowledge of them.

No sooner does man possess this knowledge than he begins to be actually modified within, and to feel the NEW DISPENSATION of real practical knowledge, now dawning on the horizon of INTELLECTUALITY, as a new MEDIATING INFLUENCE acting on mankind through *mental convictions*. At this stage of progressiveness all idols vanish from the human brain.

We feel within ourselves that we have arrived at this stage; hence it is that we come in the name of no one; that we are enlisted under no banner; and that we belong to no mystic sect.

We speak for the ignorant and for the poor-not to the ignorant and to the poor-the difference is in-

^{*} For Lists of Deified things and feelings-see Appendix.

finite; our motto shall be, "AWAY WITH ALL IDOLS!" Happiness upon earth through a knowledge of realities! food for the body, and for the BRAIN! It is the ignorance of nature which has been in all ages the real, though only the *temporary tyrant*.

"Know

That we have studied in a nobler school Than the dull haunt of venal sophistry, Or of lewd guard-room; o'er which ancient heaven Extends its arch FOR ALL, and mocks the span Of palaces and dungeons; where the heart, In its free beatings, 'neath the coarsest vest, Claims kindred with nobler things than power Of kings can raise or stifle; in the school Of MIGHTY NATURE, where we learnt to blush At sight like this, of thousands basely hushed Before a man no mightier than themselves."*

Each great period of the history of MAN has had its mobile of action, its mediation, its worship, its faith—in short, its degree of knowledge, true or false; and it was at all periods the harmony of human feelings with faith, or knowledge, that gave to each period its moral strength.

To impose the mobile or the faith of one period as a principle of action when human thought and feelings require another, is a wilful breaking of all social harmony. Ancient symbolical worship and mystic mediation were the strong social links of ignorance and vulgar brutality, and, for a time, the main spring of all heroic deeds.

What character do they now assume in presence of

* Sergeant Talfourd's " Ion."

the new and more positive knowledge of nature? One of contention, resistance, *conservatism*, and rage—more like the workings of despair than neglected usefulness.

Where now shall we look for religious enthusiasm? where for one important and useful result due to the intense ardour of *blind faith*? or to the sincere fervour of any Christian worship? No where do we know, or have we heard, of a DISCIPLE "TRUE TO CHRIST!" but whenever a new religion, *true for the age*, is about to establish itself, the cry of the blind has been "infidelity and blasphemy!"

"When society is passing from one stage of civilization to another—when one moral cycle is completed and another is about to begin, no trumpet's voice is heard proclaiming it to the universe. But the transition is not less real, because thus silently performed, and unmarked of the multitude. There are unerring signs and feelings whereby the change may be seen. The minds of all men are possessed with vague and general apprehensions of what is about to be... Philosophers or prophets, the harbingers of future times, may be scorned or martyred, but they leave their testimony behind them."*

OLD ETHICS AND PSYCHOLOGY are fast SETTING and the dawn of a NEW ERA HAS BEGUN!!!

But before that era arrive, the external aspect of things may oftentimes be such as to lead the superficial to conclude that all change must be far distant.

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^{*} See the whole Doctrine of Final Causes, by W. I. Irons. (Rivington's.)

"There may be a strong revulsion in the general feeling—a sudden check to the onward progress of events, and even a recurrence to the abandoned opinions and maxims of former times.

"The superficial will be deceived, and will hastily conclude that, since the advancing tide of human things has ebbed once more, it will therefore never return; while the next flowing of the waters MAY SWEEP AWAY SOME HUGH PROMENTORY THAT SEEMED ETERNAL!"

When a mystic mediation or a mysterious dispensation is no longer attractive, and ceases to be felt as meeting or satisfying a mental or spiritual WANT, it is the natural symptom that another period of mental progress has begun, and that a modification in religion, education, and politics is inevitable. Then it is that the *exclusive* support of authority to the old mediation should cease, and all opposition to the new be openly withdrawn.

A new mediating influence is not merely a thing to be told of, or even to be taught—it must be generally felt and gradually followed, as a new physical attraction would be; but at no time can it be enforced as a matter of duty in favour of any *temporal*, or in opposition to any *spiritual* power.

The new attractive influence now beginning to be felt as irresistible, is that of progressive real knowledge; the fascinating power now acting on the brain of the rising generation, is far more a WANT of understanding nature by observation and demonstration, than it is the instinctive wish of our forefathers to continue to believe without palpable evidence or investigation.

Let those who tremble state openly the reasons that make them fear.

"From the days of the Reformation until now, the Church of England had been looked to as the bulwark of the Reformed Faith! the head-quarters of the Protestantism of the world! She arose as from the slumber of ages, to shake off with giant strength the mass of weighty corruption that had accumulated in the darkness of ignorance. But, after all, the Reformation appears to have simply made over the mystic infallibility of the Popes to each individual Protestant; every one mimics, on a small scale, the old spiritual policy of the Triple Crown, and the thunders of the Vatican are now repeated daily by the thousand penny trumpets of sectarianism."

The same devices for acting on the *will* of *recusants* and keeping clear of their understanding.

The same outcry about the supposed sin of unbelief.

The same use of the fictitious *crime* of setting up REASON against *mystic* inspiration.

"The same menaces of *everlastiag ruin* which kept Europe in awe for centuries, are still extant in the village church and the conventicle."

"The difference is merely that Rome enjoyed a monopoly of infallibility; its empire was undivided; the pretension which it asserted, Christendom recognised—it presided over the unresisting subject class,

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and pressed on their mental faculties with dangerous benumbing powers."

"Protestantism is now but a competition of infallibilities, and affords the kind of liberty which the Roman Empire sometimes enjoyed in its decline, from the existence of a dozen rival candidates for the purple: —sectional partialities with universal warfare."

The only *security* which we enjoy as Protestants, is the single impotence of these rival tyrannies.

The only quiet, is the equilibrium of their mutual resistance.

The only *equality* is the surly and unrecognised equallity of discontented aspirants to authority.

There is but one point of sympathy among those religious parties—one interest only can confederate them together : they unite to make war on all applications of philosophy to question religion, they all demand the UNCONDITIONAL CAPITULATION OF REASON.*

But 300 years have passed since all this was sanctioned by the public feeling as being mighty good and glorious, at the time, against the greater absurdities of Romanism—in their short-sighted and ignorant zeal they have themselves reminded us of it, but the PRINTING PRESS, which contributed so much to accelerate the mighty crisis of a religious reformation, not having remained stationary, like the new mystic dogmas it had then to uphold and to diffuse, soon began to promote and realise a further development of the faculties of comprehension which have

^{*} London and Westminster Review, July 1836.

gradually increased in power until, through GEO-LOGY! ORGANIC CHEMISTRY! and PHRENOLOGY! another era has determined upon A RADICAL RE-FORM OF THE REFORMATION ITSELF.

It cannot be denied that during these 300 years the pulpit and the press, have spread controversy and dissention where formerly the unanimity of ignorance prevailed, but this was only the necessary ordeal through which human society must pass, to arrive at a far nobler state—THE UNANIMITY of REAL KNOW-LEDGE FOUNDED ON PHYSICAL TRUTHS, IN HARMONY WITH CULTIVATED MINDS.

Why should *real* education be so much dreaded at Oxford and Cambridge? if not that they fear the consequence of inquiry: — the preposterous pretensions of our universities are nothing short of transforming *articles* made at the Reformation into *eternal* rules of *blind faith* never to be questioned or examined at any time, by any man, however superior he may prove himself to be in theological history, in *real* knowledge, and in mental capacity.

The late mystic charges against Dr. Hampden with whom all liberal minds sympathise, are little less than *perjury* in contradicting articles which he had subscribed—*contumacy* in impugning the authority of a church to which *he belongs*, and *impiety* in attempting to subvert *Christianity* itself! Christianity, forsooth ! AS YET ESTABLISHED NO WHERE !

"These are really very ludicrous and strange charges for the age we live in—one hardly knows whether to indulge in laughter at them, or lament in charity, and pity the human beings who can so far prostrate their honesty and reason as to put their names to the mystic jargon called a declaration, left for signature at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, March 10, 1836, every sentence of which is (for this age) either a falsehood or a downright absurdity.

"We rejoice most heartily, however, at the circumstance which then brought forth this document since it placed before a whole public the pure expression of intolerant feelings which many thought existed no where out of the sway of ancient Romanism.

"Their denunciations against further inquiry are pronounced in a strain of dogmatical authority that resembles the thunder of the Vatican itself, though they proceed in all probability from *divines* who have often, ere this, bawled out 'No popery' lustily enough.

"After all, what are these Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England? Nothing more than the comments of men (upon what children are taught to believe) the words of God, written by other men. If they are in reality anything more, why then did we ever separate from Rome? and why brand the older Church with opprobious names?"

In fact, religious paper war is arrived at such a pitch of mystic rancour, that Anglicanism must either openly assume the infallibility of Romanism, or the State (her *now* reluctant paramour) proclaim the VOLUNTARY SYSTEM in all matters of *blind faith*.

What must reason see in all this but evident symptoms of obstinate, though useless resistance to the growing POWER of THOUGHT and SCIENCE over mystic faith—a vain and ridiculous attempt to stop further inquiry and to restrain liberty of conscience within narrower limits.

"Where then is the vaunted Protestant principle of the right of private judgment in expounding the Scriptures?"—say rather the organic feelings that gave them all their importance, for if one exposition be more than human, all others not accordant with that one must be false.*

But it is not so much this or that comment of Scripture which they are afraid of, as it is that they dread the spreading influence of the MENTAL MACHI-NERY, the progressive development of which tends evidently to *reveal* to mankind the new mediating power of human THOUGHT and SCIENCE—the philosophy of rationalism, which acknowledges cultivated reason to be the best guide and the best judge of everything in nature, including of course every one of the *instinctive feelings that are the natural consequence of human organisation*.

Therefore, to the orthodox priesthood, and to our religious friends, we must say :—believe not that by preaching according to the purest and most refined mysticism, you have any chance of *again* restricting the public mind, to the narrow bounds its *natural* growth has long since burst.

* See "Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the appointment of the present Regius Professor of Divinity, by a Member of the University of Oxford." (Fellowes, Ludgate-street, London.)

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Your Anti-Popery meetings in Exeter Hall and elsewhere—your Conservative dinners and speeches —are far more calculated, in the present day, to increase the spirit of inquiry into the *origin of all things*, than to increase, as you seem to wish *it*, sectarian animosities unworthy of the age.

To the Dissenting Protestants who boast of their success in propagandism, we may say "that the Roman Catholics have been equally, if not more, successful in England than any other sect; for during the last half century Roman Catholic chapels have increased from about 30 and 40 to between 500 and 600! Many more are now building; and at Kidderminster and Dover, Protestant chapels have been sold to Roman Catholics,—besides nine English Roman Catholic colleges"!*

No philosophic mind can entertain the least apprehension about the return of absolute Popery, or the temporary success of any mystic sectarians, provided the knowledge of reality continue to be daily more and more diffused among all classes of the people, by a national system of *positive* education; for it must in time absorb all religious creeds into one great conviction—the fact of a new dispensation through human THOUGHT, INDUSTRY, and SCIENCE now ME-DIATING for mankind; and the coming generation shall feel their "*spiritual wants*" *fully satisfied* by a system of new knowledge, *or new religion*, continually progressing—modified only by the successive changes in philosophy.

^{*} See Dublin Quarterly Review, No. I.

ONE WORD TO THE LIBERAL CRITICS WHO HAVE NOTICED THE NEW SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE. *

THE object of every liberal publication being to advocate and diffuse a real and sound education among all classes of society, especially those industrious ones, to which the community is indebted for whatever it possesses and enjoys, we cannot but regret, that in noticing our "Serious Thoughts," you did not think proper to insert our conviction of the eternity of religions, as by so doing you would have qualified your extracts, and rendered them more palatable to that portion of the religious world who do not, like most of their brethren, act solely from their *instinctive* feelings, but who allow reason and reflection to have some share in forming their conclusions.

Satisfied, Gentlemen, that in such noble endeavours as yours, the first step is to remove the grounds of superstition and credulity, we are convinced that for this purpose no description of knowledge is so efficient as phrenology—the physiology of the brain.

Since 1811, when we read Dr. Gall's first work —the Progress of Phrenology in Society—the points in it most open to ridicule, its errors and exagge-

The New Moral World, of Sept. 10, 1831; Metropolitan, Oct.1; Weekly Herald, Nov.; Wiltshire Independent, Dec. 15; Phænix, Feb. 7, 1837; Star in the East, April, 1837; Bell's New Weekly Messenger. rations, have been observed by us with unremitting attention, and the results have been—an increased confidence in its truths in proportion to the bitter diatribes of its enemies—a conviction that it is the only science that can really be said to *enable man to know himself, and to* JUDGE FAIRLY HIS FELLOW MEN—and a certainty of its becoming, ere long, the grave of all psycology. Nor is the horror and hatred with which it is regarded by the *pious deceivers* of mankind (however conscientious and sincere some may be) a slight confirmation of its importance as far as regards the greater diffusion of knowledge and happiness among our fellow creatures.

How shall we account for the dread in which the human brain is held by all the distributers of the miscalled "spiritual food," if not by their conviction that, like the hand-writing upon the wall—the Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin—it pronounces the speedy downfall of their empire.—"We are undone, for we shall soon be found out," is the whisper of their wellgrounded fears.—Let them, however, be as angry as they will, it would ill become mankind to quarrel with their holy nurses; we should treat them kindly and respectfully, but at the same time give them fully to understand that, knowledge enables man to walk alone in the path of rectitude and morality.

That knowledge forces itself with irresistible power upon the notice of the tyrants of the earth, or that, at least, they are compelled to affect to recognise its influence,—is proved by the fact related in a French Journal, that even Metternich himself, the Austrian arch-priest of absolutism, declared some time back, "his readiness to admit all such reforms as were really founded on scientific knowledge."

Had radicalism and revolution, unaccompanied by knowledge, been adequate to the reformation of sccial abuses, mankind would long since have been governed with greater justice and impartiality.-Consider only the two great struggles which the French nation made for liberty and the rights of the industrious classes in the years 1790 and 1830. How much they promised, yet how little was realized ! And what was the cause of this disappointment?-IGNORANCE, which has always been, and still is in every country throughout the globe, the only true original sin. Can ignorance be trusted?-does it possess the power of reasoning or comprehending? No: the necessary consequence then is-the rod of iron of the dark ages. What but knowledge, experience, and the powers of observation and comparison, has produced tolerance ?---and what is to-lerance, but faith cut down to the peace establishment?

Blind faith is to profound ignorance what real knowledge is to intelligence; absolutism is for blind faith what liberalism is for knowledge; and hence it is our conviction that all political convulsions and civil disturbances are caused by the forms of Government and old established rules remaining still in force, at a time when so many new feelings have already shaken blind faith.

Reforms-that is, changes in these forms and fixed

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rules (changes necessary to meet those which take place in human WANTS), become indispensable after a time for the maintenance of social harmony.

If confusion arises, it is because, on the one hand, the people feel symptoms of new WANTS without sufficient knowledge to understand how to gratify them; whilst on the other, what are called the upper or learned classes, judging from and by the old law, and (not being modified like the people), cannot understand or conceive the new feelings. The great difference between the feelings of those who command, and the feelings of those who must obey, proceeds from the different modification, operated by the new knowledge, upon those who are in a social position to enjoy, and upon those who are in a social position to labour and to feel privations. To the former, knowledge suggests a confirmation of power; to the latter, knowledge whispers that all is wrong, for, mental capacity once awakened can no longer brook that position in which profound ignorance acquiesced without murmur, or even without regret.

Revolution under liberal chiefs, who (better informed than the masses) felt the new wants, have always failed, because the masses did not understand the *new* WANTS; but when knowledge, generally diffused, shall have modified all the people, then will public opinion be so loud and so general, that happy changes will take place, *without leaders*, and therefore without convulsion or bloodshed. Hence, reform in the education of the masses is the first and most important duty of those who suffer from injustice towards others.

Allow us, Gentlemen, to express our regret-1st. At your not noticing the Theorem of Part I. and II., which, by declaring " that religion never can be destroyed," greatly modified the character of the entire work; and 2ly. At the sarcastic anti-religious tone of some of your articles; for we look upon superstition, idolatry, and all emblematical or symbolic worship, requiring blind faith, as sublime in themselves; and so must all those who reflect seriously upon the power they have exercised over the human animal instincts, when knowledge by observation could not yet be generated among mankind as a new social element. Our sole wish is, if possible, to make all religions intelligible to the human mind; for nothing short of that can lead to a riddance of the priesthood of mysticism by a new scientific order of teachers; or can compel the reverend body now instructing our children to address their sermons to their INTELLI-GENCE, rather than to their ideality, wonder, and veneration-the three human instincts upon which depend the religious feeling which produces blind faith in the total absence of real knowledge. Mystic religions depending solely upon time and circumstance, are so true and so important as a beginningas a first step in progressiveness-that abuse, ridicule, or persecution avail nothing where ignorance remains. "Blind faith" is the phenomenon to be examined as a mere question of NATURAL HISTORY.

The fact of all Christendom being agitated, in consequence of the resistance against most useful innovations, by the priesthood of all establishments and all sects, is the best proof that their time is at an end; religious enthusiasm, however, must be met by argument—not by passion, doubt, or ridicule. Phrenology (or the physiology of the human brain) is the tomb of all psychology, and as such must become the new basis of all thought and action, by forming a NEW CONVICTION through a real knowledge of human organic instincts, and of those progressive social wants which time alone can produce and modify according to circumstances.

Let the priesthood receive all due thanks and remunerations for *past services*, but let real knowledge be so diffused and appreciated, that the clerical body shall be compelled to allow that all they have hitherto taught us as *truths never to be questioned* by time, are errors—although *venial ones*, on their part, because arising necessarily from their *professional training*.

If we be not mistaken, there are now more than one young *curate* ready to ascend the pulpit to break through the mystic trammels *imposed upon them by* EPISCOCRACY, and to *push onwards the holy spirit of inquiry into all things, spite of the "Oxford malignants.*"

How long must the press remain shackled by the superstition and bigotry of ignorance, when the "spiritual wants" of the people, and the king's government, declare it to be free?

We hail the success of the "Star in the East,"* as a new beacon to guide emancipated minds, to encourage the free study of nature, and to recommend a

^{*} A new liberal paper, published in WISBECH, Cambridgeshire—one of the few whose object is rather the diffusion of new truths and RATIONAL EDUCATION than pecuniary profits.

Public Department of education, before which all teachers may be examined as to their real knowledge of man, and their independence of mind, before they dare presume to meddle with the intellectual faculties of youth. Our sense of the word *reality* has not been understood as we intended it should be.

We do not use the word "*realities*" in any sense connected with appearance or impression of outward objects—but as regarding the *facts* revealed by scientific observation; "facts," which in their turn, time may prove to be errors.

Our knowledge of human physiology is now a *reality*, geology is a *reality*, as compared with evangelical faith on "creation."

Blind faith is a real fact, a reality—a chapter of the natural history of man; and psychology is in reality but one of the circumstances in which man may find himself placed; it is but a branch of his natural history.

Animal instincts are real facts. Those who presume to govern mankind, are bound to study man in his organization : but to study him precisely as they would any other animal, in health, in sickness, and in death.

It is true that 300 years ago the Reformation broke the seals of the Bible, and this was one step in advance for intellectuality and inquiry; but it was no more than one step, and *progressiveness never stops*.

Since that time the *phrenologist* has done more he has *broken open the box of psychology* ! and like the man in the fable of the "golden eggs," found nothing like what psychologists expected. But as it was psychologists only who had inquired into the Bible at the Reformation, a *new inquiry* remains now to be performed by phrenology! *i. e.* by the knowledge of *realities*, and not by the dream and visions of psychology.

Do you understand us now? This is not denying—it is merely showing that all "errors" have in their time been the manufacturers of truths for us.

When MAN shall have subdued, controlled, and directed the electric fluid and magnetism as he does now fire and water, then will the power of NUMAN THOUGHT and SCIENCE be better understood as being without limits, than they can yet be admitted to be by the vulgar ignorance of our gentry. For the present the great desideratum is to make all kinds of superstitions, old and new, intelligible as a physical law of the human brain towards increasing unlimited knowledge; and we mean to undertake no less. It may prove but an attempt, yet we believe it to be a useful one in the present social dilemma between THOUGHT and THINGS.

"Let not the freedom of inquiry be shackled by any indirect influence. If it multiplies contentions between the wise and virtuous, it exercises the charity of those who contend. If it shakes for a time the belief that is rooted only upon prejudice, it will tend to settle it upon the broad basis of convictions; and must finally introduce PHILOSOPHY INTO THE TEMPLE."*

^{*} White's Bampton Lectures.

RELIGIONS

RECONCILED WITH PHILOSOPHY.

" ALL great and useful changes which have been accomplished in the world—*since public opinion became the ruler of it*—have been accomplished by attempting things which, for years or generations after the first attempt, had not the remotest chance of success."

This has been said some twenty years ago—but the last twenty years of peace and reflection on the past, as compared with the present, have done more to cool the passions of men and promote sound judgment among the people, than twenty times twenty years ever did before!

We, therefore, do not hesitate to enter at once boldly, and without the fear of man, into the intellectual examination of a subject, from which, to this day reason has been most barbarously excluded by the common consent of priest and people; and if we can succeed in making any portion of the latter understand the *reality* of the former's mission, as well as that of their mystic religions, we shall have done all that is in our power, to assist in accomplishing one of those great and beneficial changes *for future generations*, which we consider most useful for the real progress of humane rational civilization—THE RE-CONCILIATION OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY!

PREJUDICES AND PUSILLANIMITY ARE GENERATED BY INSTRUCTION INTO SECTARIAN MYSTICISM.

"Will the people of these Islands—sagacious, free, noble spirited in all things else—for ever and ever be drivellers in religion only?"—*Rev. G. Armstrong's Bible Controversy*, 1828, p. 94.

WHEN Dr. Geddes published his prospectus for a new translation of some mystic books (1786), originally written in the Hebrew tongue, and on the "eternal truth" of which all Christian sects ground their blind faith—he adverted, in the progress of his work, to the opposition he then met with, in describing which, the following words of Milton would have aptly suited his purpose :—

> " I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs By the known rules of ancient liberty, When strait a barbarous noise environs me, Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs."

With the Roman Catholics the Doctor was a heretic, under more forms than ever Proteus could assume; and with those who affected to style themselves loyal Protestants, he was called an oppositionist, a democrat, a republican, a Paineist, a leveller, an anti-aristocrat—and, to sum up all, a violent Foxite ! —an enemy to God and man !—disaffected to Government, and hostile to the British constitution, as by law established ! This last accusation, be it remarked, is not the least curious: for, the distinguishing cha-

racter of our constitution (thanks be to the physical LAW of PROGRESSIVENESS) is to promulgate and enforce, annually, a huge volume of NEW Statutes and of old ones repealed, so that, " as by law established" means actually, if it have any meaning at all, the constitutional right of incessant changes and modifications by new Statute laws !

To each of these specific charges (though we see not what they have at all to do with translating Hebrew), the Doctor with much ability and spirit replied; and after having made an explicit profession of his political creed, he then sums up his religious belief:—

"What I find to have been taught by Christ and his apostles, that, I deem a point of genuine primitive catholicity: but whatever bears not this character, is, with me, no Catholic principle. Christianity was originally a very simple yet accomplished beauty; but under the paint and patches of posterior times, her lineaments are barely discernible; and such a load of useless ornaments has been added to her vesture that little appears of its pristine simplicity. O, prelates! O, pontifs! what have ye to plead in excuse.

"Honest open-eyed Catholic reader, I trust I have convinced thee, that I am an orthodox Catholic Christian. But even if I were as arch a heretic as ever dogmatised, might I not, for all that, be capable of giving a good translation of the Bible? Did the pretended or real heresy of ORIGEN make his biblical researches less valuable? AQUILE and THEO-

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DOLIM were obdurate Jews;—SYMMACHUS was an Ebionite: yet their versions of the Old Testament were sought, read, and praised by the Christian fathers; nay, partly received into the Greek exemplars of the Scripture.

"The great ERASMUS was strongly suspected of heresy; yet his labours on the New Testament were approved by a knowing Pope, and applauded by the learned world,—a few bigots excepted. SACY was reputed a rank Jansenist, and for his Jansenism was immersed in the Bastile; yet his French version of the Bible, partly made in that dungeon, has been long in high estimation in the Gallican church. Without presuming to compare myself to any of those celebrated men, I surely may be allowed to say that I may make a good translation, and that if I do make a good translation, the imputation of heterodoxy cannot render it a bad one."

In short, all that may be said on Scripture and faith must stand upon its own merit; and if it have none, it will soon fall, without the help of Episcopal unintelligible fulminations !

Now these, and all such labours about the comparative excellence and purity of the text, are totally foreign to modern philosophy. It might be very interesting, no doubt, in the Doctor's days, when timorous scepticism, daring to question *the translation only*, laboured hard, though in vain, to seek for unchangeable eternal truths, or even common sense to suit *every age*, in the original itself. In every age, and every clime, it is *ignorance* only, that will have it so—such is the inevitable law of human nature. "The common cry was e'er religion's test; The Turk's is, in Constantinople best: Idols in India, popery at Rome, And our own worship only *true* at home: *And true but for a time*; 'tis hard to know How long *we please* it shall continue so: This side to day, and that to-morrow burns; So all are God-Almighty's in their turns."*

But our thoughts are much more serious, we do not see any useful result in quoting satire any further, for although we might prove the historical basis of Christianity to be never so absurd and ridiculous, or even totally false, we should not in the least disprove the fact of many other religions, still more ridiculous, or equally wrong as to their eternity, having everywhere inspired faith to primitive ignorance ! and although Pindar, De Foe, Dryden, Swift, Voltaire, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Rochester, Churchill, the Earl of Chatham, Tom Paine, Lord Byron, and a score of others, may have sharpened their wits to attack and ridicule the mystic doctrine and ceremonies of the faithful :---nevertheless, the instinct for some superstitions or other, more or less reduced into a system of faith being a positive physical fact, the most interesting and the most useful of all questions to be solved, is decidedly:-Whether faith in superstition has yet been well understood and rationally explained by philosophers? Such appears to us to be now the important question for human THOUGHT to investi gate and to solve.

It will be said that investigation frequently leads

to doubts, where there were none before: well, and what then? "So much the better," do we reply with Dr. MARSH (Bishop of Peterborough), "for if a thing is false it ought not to be received; if a thing is true, it can never lose in the end by inquiry,—on the contrary, the conviction of that man who has perceived difficulties and overcome them, is always stronger than the mere persuasion of him who never heard of their existence." Is not doubt the essence of wisdom ?*

If the public mind were stirred up to inquiry in matters of religious *faith*, a spirit of earnestness

"Doubt is the school of truth."-F. Bacon.

Quevedo de Villegas says of *doubt*, "De todas las Cosas mas seguras la mas segura es el dudar."—" Of all the things which are secure, the most safe is *doubt*."

"It is related of Mede, that he had all his scholars come to him at his chambers in the evening; and the first question he put to them was, 'QUID DUBITAS?'—' what doubts have you met with in your studies to-day?" for he supposed that to doubt nothing and to understand nothing, was just the same thing.—This was right, and the only method to make young men exercise their rational powers, and not to acquiesce in what they learn mechanically and by rote, with an indolence of spirit which prepares them to receive and swallow implicitly whatever is offered them."—*Reproof of Brutus, by Morgan.*

"DOUBT is the vestibule which *all* must pass, before they can enter into the temple of wisdom; therefore, when we are in doubt, and puzzle out the truth by our own exertion, we have gained something that will *stay by us*, and which will serve us again. But if to avoid the trouble of search, we avail ourselves of the superior information of a friend, such knowledge will not remain with us; we have not *bought*, but only *borrowed* it."—*Rev. C. C. Colton.*

^{* &}quot;Doubt is the beginning of wisdom."-Aristotle.

would be communicated to them; and whether belief or unbelief should be the result, the opinions would be entertained upon rational and consciencious principles.

The people call themselves free! Society claims a high degree of civilization! the words "education," "mental culture," are in every one's mouth! One million and a half of children are said to be instructed at the public expense! and, nevertheless, a belief in the "marvellous" or "supernatural," i.e. in that which never had any existence out of the animal instincts of the human brain — which has been characteristic of our species in profound ignorance, from the earliest ages to which our records extend—still continues to mar education even in this, our own more enlightened time!

This is the important and curious fact of natural history, before which the scientific world should pause and reflect seriously, ere they labour further to diffuse the results of their inquiry into the realities of nature as a source of knowledge useful to the people, for since a predominant *blind faith* in any supposed existence separate from nature, is a constant food for *instinctive superstition*—it must render almost null and void their praiseworthy efforts to diffuse the knowledge of reality among a people whose curious vanity, to this very day, is to repeat to each other, and to prove to the world, by their printed works and public speeches, how proud they are of being more priest-ridden from the cradle to the grave, than any other nation equally civilized. That human nature in profound ignorance is, in this respect, the same in the nineteenth century as it was in the ninth, or at any earlier period, we have humiliating and conclusive evidence in the temporary success of *Joanna Southcote*, *Prince Hohenloe*, and other deluded fanatics.

To the shame of our clergy and of our legislature, be it said, blind faith in sorcery and in devils, is still common with many of our country people.

There is hardly a village in which a witch or gypsey, some sort of Pythoness or other, is not to be found whom the ignorant must consult when the harvest is damaged—the cattle diseased—the children taken ill—or when there is no money to pay the rent!

A peasantry for ever, thus kept in ignorance, must remain for ever poor in mind and comparatively miserable; even the modicum of instruction they receive in childhood is better suited to perpetuate the instinct of ignorance, and to lead them to accuse "evil spirits" of bringing disease and want upon them, through false notions of some "infernal agency," than it is to induce them, through observation and reflection, to seek in the very nature of their social relative position, the true causes of their moral and mental degradation, in order to know how to remove them.

It is easy for the rich and better educated classes of society to refrain from accusing the devil: his Satanic Majesty *dwells beneath their consideration* they despise such vulgar notions, and laugh most heartily at the poor man's terrors. This is the result of the natural law of circumstances, and faith in a genius for evil, as well as faith in a genius for good, must lose their influence on society, in proportion as the condition of the lower classes is physically, mentally, and morally improved.*

> " Their wide domains the warriors sold; And where old Tyranny had domineer'd * * * Freedom was given for necessary gold; Thence o'er the champaign rose, by slow degrees, A race of independent swains, whose sires Where slaves, but little to the burden'd beast Prefer'd in estimation-Oft for them The Reverend Flamen from their Lord obtained The boon of liberty. Unthinking priests, Forbear !--- Ye little think what unborn woes. From this indulgence, threat the LORDLY PILE Of superstition; tho' it proudly raise Its pinnacles among the curtained clouds * * * * * * And seem all ruin to defy-Time will come When it shall moulder to the base ! You loose The trammels of the body: soon the slave Will fling away the trammels of the mind, Nor need your help ! "

Rev. H. Boyd.

* "How, in an artificial society, is it possible to look to religion *alone* for our *entire* comprehension of *all* morals ?— Religion is founded in one age and one country; it is transmitted, with its body of laws, to another age and country, in which vast and complicated relations have grown up with time, which those laws are no longer sufficient to embrace." —Bulwer's *England and the English*. B. iii. C. 6.

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THE INCREASING INFLUENCE OF PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION IS TO REDUCE MORE AND MORE INSTINCTIVE SUPERSTITION AND THE MYSTIC FEAR OF EVIL.

LOOK only far back into the great past, and you will see, even in the mystic character of the different religious dogmas which mankind have followed at sundry periods, how the supposed power attributed by human instinct to "evil spirits" has gradually been reduced by each successive system of blind faith—and if so, must we not admit their being under the natural law of continued mental progress.

The primitive mystic conception of profound ignorance gave full and complete power to the "evil spirit," and that power has ever since been estimated in an inverse ratio to that of mental culture.

At a later period in the doctrine of the Parses, AHRIMAN, the principle of evil or darkness, and OROMAZE OF ORMUZD, the principle of good and light, are supposed by instinctive superstition to be contending for this world with equal powers—pretty much, indeed, like TORIES and WHIGS are contending to this day for the satisfaction of ruling over the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The principles have been universally the same in all ages of human progress,—" darkness against light," or " ignorance against knowledge," or " error against truth." It is the words only, and the out-

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ward ceremonial manifestations of the modified feelings that have changed.

Later still, by the Christian dogmas, the "evil spirit" is finally made *subservient* to a God of mercy; hence we are disposed to believe that, as human sensitiveness will become more acute, and knowledge more keen!—as a liberal education in realities shall supersede every-where the mystification by priests !—as misery and credulity shall disappear with ignorance !—a time must follow when the human brain shall no more feel the WANT of creating a succession of evil and good "supernatural spirits," because it will not only find in nature itself, through observation, research, and comparison, *those very powers which ignorance attributed to such spirits*, but learn how to control them.

Education, therefore, directed by teachers of a new order (such as shall not be interested in perpetuating instinctive superstition) is the only true and solid foundation that can effectively support a radical reform in the church, and promote further changes in the religious prejudices of the people—the only one by which such reform can *first become acceptable by*, and subsequently really useful to them.

The present age is one of severe and unsparing scrutiny.

The day of public discussion on religion must come; all things denote that the time is at hand when the national mind shall direct itself, with intense and *fearless earnestness*, to inquire whether Christianity, or any other form of symbolical worship, be of a God, and never to be understood by man, or a necessary consequence of human organization, and, therefore, capable of being made intelligible to the human brain through a positive knowledge of the mental progressiveness of that organization.

The belief, the veneration, the obedience of the men of these days are no longer subjected to the authority of ages, or of great names; ancient institutions, opinions, and feelings, are put upon their trial by awakened public opinion, to stand or fall, according as they shall, or not, be able to abide the test of a keenly searching reason and enlightened morality.

It is now forty years since Dr. WATSON expressed his conviction that Christianity would soon undergo a more severe investigation than it has ever yet done :—" My expectation," said he, " as to the issue, is this: Catholic countries will become Protestant, and the Protestant countries will admit of further reformation.*

The fact is, that the same minute, rigid, and long continued investigation which established the principles of physical science, has never yet been applied in public discussions thoroughly to sift the real foundation of religious faith; and upon what grounds should it not be so applied?

Dr. WHATELY thus states what it is incumbent on a man to do, who doubts of the eternal truth of Christianity: — " The religion exists" — says the Divine—" that is the phenomenon; those who will not

^{*} Charge delivered to the Clergy of Landaff, in June, 1795, pp. 449-450.

allow it to come from a God are BOUND TO SOLVE THE PHENOMENON in some other hypothesis less open to objection; they are not, indeed, called upon to prove that it actually did arise in this or that way, but to suggest (consistently with acknowledged facts) some probable way in which it may have arisen, reconcilable with all the circumstances of the case."

Now, blind faith being a phenomenon common to all the human species, we shall generalise this, and apply it to all mysterious dogmas, under whatever name and ceremonies the religious feeling may have manifested itself among mankind,

It must be plain to every one, that the opinions on all religious dogmas, entertained by those who view mental progressiveness as a physical law, must be totally different from the opinions entertained by those, who will not admit of the truth of that law of nature; —we, who rank with the former, must insist on the great importance of the two physical facts which present themselves on the threshold of the proposed investigation.

First, that although mankind without any exception, as far as we know, have, from the earliest period, been disposed to believe in doctrines implying promises, it is true, but which have been productive of no immediate or evident results, for any given time of their existence—yet they have also, to all appearances, universally adhered to the laws imposed, with the instinctive fondness, tenacity, and power of absolute BLIND FAITH; investing that monitor of ignorance with every attribute of real knowledge. Secondly, that to this day each different creed, and each sect of any creed, still entertain their peculiar, though very limited notions upon these oft-abused words, "a great eternal truth." No creed or sect having ever admitted as part of their "eternal truths," the least observation and comparison of any natural facts, illustrating the reality of human progressive faculties upon earth.—Such observations and comparison, alone, evincing the physical origin and the end of all the fond mysteries which have so long, and so well, mediated for profound ignorance.

Deny after this, if you can, that mankind has been moulded by nature a substance with organic dispositions to be *spiritually trained* upon earth, and that all mystic religions are but a *first training*; yes, not even excepting the superstition of the *Thugs* in India.*

These two facts—the subjugation of ignorance by religious faith, and the reluctance of that faith to take any cognizance of human progressivity—constitute for us, a most SACRED WARRANT AGAINST THE ETERNITY of MYSTERIOUS DOGMAS OF SYMBOLICAL WORSHIPS. They are all by nature essentially temporary, and it is in that positive character of *real* but *evanescent utility* that we regard them as most sublime and most admirably consistent with the natural circumstances in which they were not only useful but actually indispensible *as a beginning*.

Let us endeavour to understand, once for all,

^{*} See Edinburgh Review. cxxx. p. 357.

why blind faith in mysteries and miracles is every where, and at all times, so very nice and so punctilious?

Whence these expressions of serious doubts and alarm at the least symptoms of scrutiny, when a true spirit of investigation and research seems to stalk round about its hallowed sanctuary?

Why is blind faith so ridiculously apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the accumulated torrents of new knowledge swelling beneath the surface of mystic usurpations ?

To all these queries, we know of one general answer—equally applicable to all kinds and all shades of superstitious infatuations. It is this:—If a refutation or confirmation of your doubts on the eternal *truth* of your religious faith be looked for in the *scriptural* "*records*" of your religion, you never will come to any rational final solution,* because, not

* "Whoever expects to find in the Scriptures a specific direction for every moral and religious doubt that arises, *looks* for more than he will meet with. And to what a magnitude such a detail of particular precepts would have enlarged the sacred volume, may be partly understood from the following consideration:—The laws of this country, including the acts of legislature, and the decision of our Supreme Courts of Justice, are not contained in fewer than about 100 folio volumes; and yet it is not one in ten attempts that you can find the case you look for in any law-book whatever! to say nothing of these numerous points of conduct, concerning which the law professes not to prescribe or determine any thing. Had, then, the same particularities enumerated in human laws—so far as they go—been attempted in the Scriptures throughout the whole extent of morality, it is manifest they would have been by

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only one life and one book, but ten thousand lives and ten thousand books are not enough to examine and verify what is to be *understood* by the word "*eternity*"—it would be *the blind leading the blind*, from generation to generation.—Search for truths, in the past and present, among the continued series of a gradual development of these powers of human THOUGHT, KNOWLEDGE, SCIENCE, and CIVI-LIZATION, which are now known to have succeeded to the profound ignorance of barbarism.

It is in every respect a natural law that has compelled mankind, in primitive ignorance of subsequent natural truths, to sacrifice their all, and, in many instances, life itself, rather than renounce its faith in error. Now how can the fact of such sacrifice be understood by reason, unless we admit that blind faith in error must have been for ignorance itself, a state of knowledge superior for its animal life, to one without any superstition at all; for, the same human organization, capable as we now know of possessing real science, must have had from the beginning some spiritual basis, be it considered ever so absurd by future generations. All mystic religions are but a temporary monitor. Whenever some inquiry follows, and a little real knowledge comes in, doubt starts up; and why? because real knowledge, however so little, has at all times the same power over blind faith, as

much too bulky to be either read or circulated; or rather, as St. John says—' even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written,'—*what better proof do we need* of the cruel absurdity of all your legislation from precedents !!''—Paley's Moral Philosophy. blind faith had before over the human animal when without any system of superstition, which observation confirms the fact of SPIRITUAL PROGRESSIVENESS upon earth.

Let then further inquiries be pursued in earnest freedom; and faith and doubt will soon both give way to make room for NEW CONVICTIONS generated by the observation and comparison of realities. But, to feel those new convictions, the working people must be encouraged to follow, on Sundays, our truly reverend lecturers on reality in the New Sanctuaries of Thought and Science: to them you may ask questions—to them you may say, I wish to understand; they do not instruct you in a faith through miraculous wonders and beatification, but they educate and develope your intellectual faculties through illustration and demonstration! you do not merely believe without understanding, but you feel that you know through intellectuality.

Are, then, none but mystic priests—no two of whom agree in opinion on matters of faith—to be for ever and ever the only expositors of this or of that truth?—impossible!—absurd!*

They have but one science-" Divinity," and that

^{* &}quot;The great problems respecting the nature, the moral relations, the life and expectation of the human being are in this country chiefly in the hands of party theologians, to whom they have been consigned under the idea that, even though this class might have less reason, 'they had certainly more Scripture,' than other men; and there these problems will remain, without the faintest hopes of progress towards a recognised solution, until some common method of investigation shall be agreed on, and the relative rights of reason and of Scripture duly defined and maintained."

has the *rare merit* of being mystic, *i.e.* unintelligible from beginning to end.

They have but one book—the Bible—which no one priest dares to expound differently from what the founder of his party, or sect, has declared to be orthodox.

No question here is tolerated—a law has been made to punish the *audacious* inquirer who dares presume, that he may be allowed to understand anything concerning his faith.

Your duty is to be "crammed,"—to believe, and "be saved," if you can believe, or to be "damned" if you cannot; and this system is sanctioned and supported by all the crowned heads of Europe as a proper "religious instruction" in the nineteenth century of spiritual existence !—a system which superior knowledge diffused by TIME, has proved to be "founded in fraud, enforced by persecution; with terror for its spring, and mental degradation for its object; dark, despotic, and oppressive, it assumed to itself exclusive privileges, and rising (through the ignorance of the people) above all temporal authority, called itself 'THE CHURCH."*

In consequence of religious toleration—that first and avowed *defalcation* of *original faith*—sectarian differences have not a little tended to disunite the people, and the true spirit of Christianity—"LOVE ONE ANOTHER"—is by all forgotten. The people are actually more instructed by their priests in mystical sectarian reasons for hating each other than

^{*} Lady Morgan.

they are, to improve the feelings of conciliation and charity. "What one of them will call a 'great truth,' another will term a 'great falsehood;' the Catholic will have seven 'sacraments,'-the Protestant only four; while the Quaker will fling the whole seven over board, and the Pope into the bargain; yet, each will call his doctrine a 'great truth,' and the doctrine of the rest ' false heresies !' What the Catholic will call scriptural and divine, the Protestant will denominate 'idolatrous and damnable;' in short, no two of them will agree on any one 'truth,' save and except the all important one to themselvesthat tithes must be paid to priests of some kind, and that all shall be liable to pay them, whether they want the priest or not. This is the only great truth all parties will agree on."

"Such are the chosen vessels through whom the Irish heart is to be softened, and the Irish character at present regenerated!" But, mark our words :—

So long as legislative wisdom, bending the knee to *Episcocracy*, will force your Bibles into Irish schools, so long must you fail in your endeavours of *educating* the people of Ireland; because *that inquisitorial act of the legislature* tends to *mystify education into a sectarian question*, and thus increases the enmity, both of priests and people.

OLD AND NEW DEFINITIONS OF THE WORD RELIGION.

In the midst of all these contending opinions and shades of faith, let us inquire a little into the real meaning that can be given to the word *religion*, (no longer the old binding mystic link it was, when under one faith), for now everything must be intelligible to the people. Many writers of some weight have attempted to define the word, but to understand them if possible, we must substitute the word "*unknown*," for that of God, or Deity.

LAVATER: "faith in the supernatural invisible 'unknown."

La BRUYERE defines religion, "the respectful fear of the 'unknown.'"

VAUVENARGUES: "the duties of men towards the 'unknown.'"

By DU MARSAIS it is defined—" the worship of the 'unknown,' and the practice of all virtues."

BAILLY calls it plainly, "the worship of the unknown, piety—Godliness, humility before the 'unknown."

VOLTAIRE: "a morality common to all mankind —the remedy of the 'soul;' in short, all that strongly binds the feelings and the opinion of the people."

Dr. JOHNSON: "Virtue founded upon reverence of the 'unknown,' and expectation of future rewards and punishments."

RIVAROL, defines religion: "the science of serving the 'unknown."

MAURY: "the philosophy of misfortune."

KOTZBUE says, "it is the philosophy of the people," *i. e.* "of ignorance."

REES defines it, "The worship or homage that is due to the '*unknown*' as creator preserver—and with Christians, as redeemer of the world."

OLD AND NEW DEFINITIONS OF

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WALKER defines it, "Virtue as founded upon reverence of the *'unknown*,' and expectations of rewards or punishments; a system of divine faith and worship, as opposed to other systems."

De BREHAM calls it-"the perfection of morality."

De BONALD calls religion—a "social intercouse between man and the 'unknown.'"

According to ROBERT FELLOWS, (author of the Religion of the Universe) religion is made to consist in a blind acquiescence in the mere assertion, or authoritative mandates of priests or councils—a prostration of the understanding.

In the "Church of England Quarterly Review," it is said: "Religion means the reading of a law to the people, as practiced among the Jews of old; and that, such law relates to a form of worship, to be paid to some unknown."

Lord BROUGHAM, in the introduction to his Discourse, defines religion "the subject of the science, called *theology*," and then defines "theology, the knowledge and attributes of the *unknown*." Therefore, according to his lordship, religion is *the subject* of the knowledge and attributes of the *unknown*. Therefore, an *instinctive seeking after knowledge*; and if so, we agree, all the physical sciences being for us but a further seeking after the same *religious* knowledge.

Whatever may have been the literary reputations of the above authorities, we look upon each of these definitions as very incomplete, save our interpretation of the last. They are more a description of the effects produced by worship—of the consequence of religious training, than the rigid analysis of religion itself.

We see, however, in these attempts to define the meaning of the word "religion," a fact important to our views—that without the instinctive want of some acquaintance with the *unknown*, there could have been no mystic religion—that it is a knowledge for the "people *in ignorance*"—a consolation for "misfortune *in ignorance*."

The lack of a more precise explanation in all these great men's definitions, must be accounted for, partly by the *fear* of *man*, and partly by the very limited knowledge of human nature diffused in their time—a knowledge always imperfect, when studied abstractedly and apart from the fundamental laws of human progressiveness—the only characteristic feature of the human brain in contradistinction to all other sensitive organised substances—the only *absolute* difference between man and other animals.

We may now, however, proceed to define religion rationally and without fear, but with a more correct knowledge of man. We must first, however, determine what are the natural *antecedent facts* to the establishment of any system of *mystic knowledge*.

We shall find upon observation and reflection that, a WANT generated within us by the organs on which depends *ideology*—all our notions in the *marvellous*,—our proneness to worship and *venerate* not only persons, but even their notions, are the *antecedent facts* to all religions—moreover, that,

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as all ideality and marvelosity have had for objects, MANKIND and the UNIVERSE: man's religious feeling is, in reality, an organic WANT of ascertaining how he came to be ? why he feels as he does ? and also the origin and structure of the world; but that as ignorance cannot be supposed to have known at once, and by mystic revelation only, the real physical organization of the human species, nor the real structure of the globe, yet the organic WANT of being satisfied on these points is so universally urgent and so imperative, as to have compelled ignorance, everywhere, to believe in any stories or systems attempting to explain both-and it is all such systems, blindly invented though wisely combined, which, coupled with a condition of existence, have been called religions.*

We, therefore, submit the following definition of the "WORD," as one more rationally true for this age than any other:—

Religions are systems of "moral" and physical science which, under human circumstances the most unfavorable to mental progress and civilization, have satisfied, however, everywhere, for the time being, the organic WANT of mankind, to pursue and explain all things unknown—*i. e.* the first natural cravings of man for obtaining real convictions.

It was for profound ignorance that all such systems were first established, yet in that state of *supposed* knowledge, the human species has passed from

^{*} See Theorem to Part I., also pages 40, 45, 89, and 95.

savage life to barbarism, and from barbarism to comparative, though still, but very partial civilization.

CIVILIZATION, HOWEVER INCOMPLETE, HAS AF-FORDED SECURITY AND LEISURE FOR RESEARCH, OBSERVATION, REFLECTION, AND JUDGMENT.

Time and thought investigated nature, and whilst mystic religions, to some extent, protected man against man! — the human brain, impressed by nature, produced the real system of the physical sciences, the knowledge of which generated the new feelings of MENTAL CONVICTIONS FROM NATURAL FACTS, resting on the demonstrations of a reality in harmony with human reason; demonstrations and convictions, which, it must be remarked, no primitive dogmas of faith ever needed or required.

The intellectual civilization of mankind is the consequent fact of human progressive sensitiveness.

Increased human sensitiveness is the consequent fact of *increasing mental development*.

Mental progressiveness is the consequent fact of the *physical union between the human brain and our external senses*, which, properly speaking, are but the *feelers* of the brain.

Hence the grand result, the ultimate consequence of the union between the human brain and its feelers is a progressive diffusion of science and civilization among mankind; and we believe the time to be now arrived when "they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, by saying, 'know the Lord! know the Lord!'" for all will soon be convinced of the omnipotence of progressive THOUGHT, when free to diffuse real scientific revelations for the benefit of all.

The present state of the little real knowledge already diffused, *apparently* in opposition to all mystic religions, a state which causes so much rancour, blind fury, sectarian calumny, and paper warfare, demands a system of national education capable of openly encouraging free inquiries into the organization of an *animal* who always did, and still must, believe in some superstition or *false knowledge*, when most inhumanly left in profound ignorance of itself and of the universe, though mystically made to believe that the world was made for him.

But mark this-the religious party which feels a sincere wish to assume or to preserve a real ascendancy over all others in the world, must be one which, BLENDING RELIGION WITH REAL AND USEFUL KNOW-LEDGE, shall join in the intellectual movement and political spirit of the age; which, addressing itself to the mental powers of man rather than to his blind credulity, shall demonstrate, by human science only, the realities of nature, and gradually purify its doctrine of all fiction-one which, acknowledging openly the religious feeling of organic sensitiveness to be an instinctive wish to acquire sound knowledge, shall, at all times, continue to teach what is really worth knowing at each successive period of mental progress, and thus transfuse a philosophical training into a new religious tuition.

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- " 'Tis not for the farce of a hasty prayer, Forgotten as soon as said, Nor fast, nor worship, at glittering shrine, With a crouching form and a face divine, That man alone was made.
- " All this may be done by the veriest wretch That the day e'er smiled upon, With a brow of heaven, but a heart of hell, Whose life of curse and of crime could tell Of many a dark deed done." *

To the Protestant mystics of all denominations, we should recommend to look at what is now going on both here and abroad among a new Literary Society! —to read the "UNIVERSITE CATHOLIQUE," conducted by a union of religious and scientific men of France and Belgium,—a new work, begun as late as January, 1836. They do not yet openly *confess*, it is true, the power of the NEW MEDIATION of thought and sci-

^{*} As it is far from our intention to offend any of our religious contemporaries, an instance of a wretch, at once cruel and religious, may be given in that of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. -One of the writers of the Saxon Chronicle designates him as being "a very stern man, and so hot and passionate, that no man durst gainsay his will; as one who took money by right and unright, falling into great avarice, and loving greediness withal, not recking how sinfully his officers got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. He was, honever, religiously inclined, after the fashion of his age; and whatever might be the schemes of ambition and the butcheries in which he was engaged, he never failed to hear the mass of his private chaplain in the morning, and to say his prayers at night."-See the Pictorial History of England, part v. p. 391. London, C. Knight, 22, Ludgate Street, a work far superior, in all respects, to any now used in schools and colleges.

ence, but they acknowledge the falling off of the old, and they act under the influence of the new.—We contend for nothing more.

"They have undertaken the accomplishment of a double duty.

First, — they propose to cultivate the various branches of useful knowledge in such a manner as to disengage them from the erroneous conceptions which have been confounded with them, and thus to favour the movement which is to restore the true spirit of religion by a double work of purification science of its exaggerations, and religion of all its mystic absurdities. To accomplish this, it suffices to treat of science in a spirit not hostile to that of *true* religion; and of religion, in a spirit *not hostile* to the *reality* of the science."

Secondly,—They must join to this understanding, another task—a task of social organisation, founded on the fact, that it is religious faith which has generated philosophy—that, a Catholic hierarchy when educated into ALL the science (as it should be), contains the rallying point of order and of mental progress; that, Catholic charity combined with the results of the positive sciences can alone resolve, in a manner complete and durable, the most important problems of legal charity and social science.

Now this is the only MODIFICATION of CATHO-LICISM THAT CAN MEET THE WANTS OF THE AGE; a system no more like the old Popish temporal tyranny so lately *held up in mystic terror at Exeter Hall*, than the exhilarating brightness of day, is like the timorous gloom of night; and it becomes evident that

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unless the Protestant hierarchy assimilate their church sermons to something like the lessons given at our Mechanics' Institutions—and are henceforth to be ordained as scientific lecturers for diffusing real knowledge and all the practical sciences—the new Catholic philosophy on one side, and the lay-teachers on the other, *must eventually swamp all our mystic parsons*, leaving Protestant symbols and mysteries far, far behind, to dwindle away into nothing among a few unredeemable bigots and all the old women of the present generation.

But to bring about so desirable a reconciliation between RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY, two things are required of all civilized Governments.

First,—They must have *the power* of reforming the hierarchy of their respective churches.

Secondly,—It is indispensable that they should perfectly understand the *true meaning* of a rational "church reform" in the nineteenth century of spiritual regeneration, and the fourth of a religious reformation!

As to the means,—NATURE forbids them to accomplish it otherwise, than by cultivating in earnest the understanding of all the people.*

^{* &}quot;We offer no violence, and spread no nets for the judgment of men: but lead them on to things themselves, and their relations; that they may view their own stores, what they have to reason about, and what they may add or procure for the common good. * * * And thus we hope to establish a true and legitimate union between the *instinctive* and the rational faculties."—Lord Bacon.

WHAT A CHURCH REFORM SHOULD BE AFTER A REFORMATION.

AT a time when the question of a "CHURCH RE-FORM" is at a *stand still* before the legislature,* and when such a reform is *quasi* exclusively entrusted to Archbishops and Bishops, it behoves every man who has ever given it a "serious thought," to impart to his fellow beings the conviction he entertains on a subject so intimately connected with the history, and with the organic feelings of the whole human race.

In a country where churchmen are almost exclusively the *instructors* of youth, the question of a church reform involves two subjects of investigation vastly different from each other: on the one hand, we have the notorious abuses of a body of priests established in the dark ages as a hierarchy—their departure from the original constitution, as well as from the intention of its founders;—on the other,

^{* &}quot;We say 'stand still,' because all their time is taken up in dodging one another. The Lords put off the Irish Corporation Bill, in order to see what the Commons intend to do with the Irish Tithe Bill: the Commons retort by putting off the Irish Tithe Bill until they see what the Lords intend to do with the Irish Corporation Bill. The parties who profit by this innocent and becoming play, are those who desire that nothing should be done." — The Guide, a London Paper, No. 8.

we have to examine what real advantages and what utility is *now* to be derived by the people, through the great influence which the priesthood continues to exercise, as directors of any system of education for them.

We maintain that, so far as our senators have expressed their opinions, there is not one—no, not even one, in either House of Parliament, who appears to be aware of the magnitude of the question of a church reform, when coming three centuries after a religious reformation !

If anything has been done, or is doing, it refers to a part only of the first subject, *i. e.* to the abuses of power—to a reduction of income—to residence—pluralities, and to what it has been agreed to denominate the "duties of the clergy!"—now, with us, those anomalies in the spiritual avocation of a priesthood are of little or no importance whatever, in comparison to the second subject: viz. the real advantages and the utility *now* to be derived by the people from the continuance of priests, not only as an establishment or hierarchy,* but as individuals in the capacity of religious instructors or *mystic teachers* in *blind* faith !

* This word means not only the Church Government under which our "glorious constitution" is to be for ever preserved by most holy "conservatives," from any innovation, but also, the "holy orders of angels!" which, in heaven, consist of nine, viz.—Seraphims! Cherubims! Thrones! Dominions! Principalities! Powers! Virtues! Angels! Archangels!—all the nine in heaven!!

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If we are henceforward to be governed as intelligent beings by intellectuality, and not merely as believers, by *blind* faith, the reality of a church reform requires, one would think, to know first,

WHAT IT IS THAT CANNOT! AND WHAT IT IS THAT CAN BE REFORMED!

These are preliminary questions, which, not being familiar to every mind, we shall endeavour to explain.

All old religions are a mystic compound of various-though long continued errors, and of natural truths-i. e. of the various symbols, and of the natural feelings which have adopted or embraced such symbols to satisfy the organic instinctive want. The word-reform-therefore, applied to such a compound, can surely never mean to examine into, and correct, that part of it which, in time, has been acknowledged to be error ! fiction ! or falsehood ! for. once known to be error, it may be discarded or abolished from the institution, or it may be allowed to die a natural death, as "alchemy" and "astrology," once in great esteem, have died away, and disappeared from the thoughts of men. Since error once known as such, never can be made again to appear REALITY, it never can be reformed, although it may certainly have been made, for a time, to appear less cruel, less absurd, and less preposterous.

As to the natural truths—as to the feelings which have induced the *instinctive credulity of ignorance* to adopt various symbols, it is quite another question: investigation and inquiry here become most interesting and most useful; for it is, *in reality*, changes in our feelings which make a church reform desirable.

None can deny that wherever and whenever the HUMAN BRAIN has been excited, impressed, and developed by the convictions which real knowledge bestows, it has universally ceased to be longer susceptible of being mystified by an officious priesthood —however much all the priests of the earth may and must have once been, not only much wanted, but really useful, and therefore generally respected and beloved by the natural instinct of primitive ignorance.

TO UNDERSTAND THE CHANGES IN OUR RELIGIOUS FEELING IS A HOME QUESTION FOR EVERY HU-MAN BEING;

because organic feelings or human instincts are the physical facts, on which equally depend all the religions of the earth; and natural facts should now seriously occupy the time of intellectual legislators.

This, then, is for us, and we hope, equally for all unprejudiced minds, not only the marrow of a church reform question for England, but the very first question of the age for the progressive civilization of all Christendom, as well as for that of all nations. It is, *in reality*, the TRUE ESSENCE OF ALL NATURAL "THEOLOGY."—It is *that*, which we have looked for in vain, in "LORD BROUGHAM'S DISCOURSE," and as it was our bitter disappointment at not finding it there, which generated our "SERIOUS THOUGHTS," should any good result from our present or future endeavours to explain the *human instinctive* WANTS of ignorance, and to bring all superstitions under the control of reason, through human observation, comparison, and judgment, so as to reconcile religion to philosophy, let the praise be due to his lordship's "Discourse of Natural Theology," as being the antecedent fact to the new "Sanctuary of Thought and Science."

We do not intend to enter here, at full length, into the inquiry necessary to prove the possible reform or natural change of an organic feeling; suffice it to say, for the present, (as all inquirers capable of FREEDOM of THOUGHT must be fully aware of) that such reform or change for the better, being the result of natural modifications in a "sensitive organised substance,"-it depends far more on the relations of time and circumstances which constantly influence that substance, than it possibly can do upon mere theological dicta or mere acts of parliament, spoken or passed in profound ignorance of human progressive sensitiveness. NATURE IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY TO CONTEND WITH, and the most absolute political executive has always proved itself powerful or powerless against existing feelings or interests, according as its mandates followed or resisted the intellectual WANTS of this, or of that age. But so long as ignorance and prejudice are admitted to the Poll, honesty and intelligence must be defeated.

Thinking as we do that, after eighteen centuries of the "Christian System," of deceiving the *vulgar*, it is not too soon to ascertain by inquiry, how far it may prove judicious, expedient, or wise, to enforce the continuance of an institution, having no other result, than the perpetuation of popular ignorance to explore credulity, or the maintenance of a fruitful superstition,-we must express our regret that no man has yet appeared to call the serious attention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and of both our legislative assemblies, to that which is THE ONLY TRUE BASIS OF ALL MYSTIC CHURCHES, -i. e. the physical fact, the natural influence, and the true end of the religious feeling; in the hope that observation and reflexion might once for all be directed into the proper channels for ascertaining the real object and useful purposes of the instinctive mystic WANTS of an ignorant flock: it being now well known to all keen observers of men and things, that ignorance itself, far from being the normal state of man, IS BUT A TEMPORARY DEFICIENCY, AN IN-STINCT OF UNCULTIVATED HUMAN NATURE, AND NOT THE NATURAL CONDITION OF MANKIND. Hence originate all the difficulties of the present day between the pretension of the priest to perpetuate credulity, and the natural claims of the awakened understanding; hence, only, the real necessity of a Church reform.

The present churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, taken all in all, are, we repeat it, as much a question of time, as ever were before them. *Fetichism*, *Druidism*, *Paganism*, or *Catholicism*; each and all have been "eternal truths," for the generation that lived under them. It has always been the character of blind faith to consider its creed "eternal"—yet, as

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we have said before, none have ever been thought true beyond the time they were in harmony with the degree of mental powers that could or would countenance each in its turn,* and we now ask in all candour and sincerity—Is not their successive disappearance from spiritual society (though as yet but a partial disappearance for some) so many recorded proofs of the gradual progressiveness of the religious feelings of mankind? In fact,

What is now called "superstition?"

Is it not the religious laws, worship, and ceremonies of our fore-fathers, no longer in harmony with our present better feelings?

What is now called " religion?"

Is it not the mystic laws, worship, and ceremonies of the day assented to by large majorities kept in ignorance of the natural sciences ?

What is *now* called infidelity, heresy, and blasphemy?

Is it not the increasing symptoms of innovation in matters of faith, and the manifested influence of a NEW MEDIATION, expressed as yet but by a small minority whose feelings being changed by a pure and progressive knowledge in harmony with their mind, (therefore superior for them, to the knowledge allowed or diffused by the present "eternal truths:)" cannot sympathise with old and stationary dogmas of blind faith, but who, nevertheless, pursue most religiously, all the real knowledge to be attained.

^{*} See page 116.

What is then, the true understanding of the words "superstition," "religion," "heresy," and blasphemy?

In reality they all are ONE and the same feeling a *natural instinctive* WANT: only, that it is expressed by one or the other of these words, conformably as it may be excited to manifest itself, in relation to the *past*, to the *present*, or to the *future*.

Finally, why is it so?

Simply because the progressiveness of human intellectuality has always had the power of modifying human instincts, just as by the same law, civilization has always subdued barbarism.

Hence, since mystic "religions" have been and still remain exclusively indispensable to, as they are inseparable from, a profound ignorance of nature, may we not ask on what grounds can a mystic instruction in any degree of established superstition, be maintained by church authority in every one of our schools, colleges, and universities, when a general system of rational education by the far superior means of the natural sciences, professes upon sure data, to prevent any class of society from remaining in that ignorance of itself, and of nature, for which ONLY, instruction in any system of superstition is deemed indispensable?

No! no! it is vain for priestcraft to hope; clerical authority is too weak against mental progress, and powerless to protect them from the laws of nature which pronounce their doom. We appeal to the last struggling efforts of their downfall—the "Church of England Magazine," (a "very *cheap* weekly periodical"), and the "Church of England Quarterly Review," than which a more absurd *religio-furiosojargon* never was yet published at any period of clerical rage and mystic denunciation!*

But, nevertheless, we must thank them for their vain efforts; these works of blind holy despair, illustrate what was predicted long before their appearance, when we said:—" All the endeavours of absolute mystic religion to defend herself; all her metaphysical verbiage can produce no other effect than that of making her flounder still more in the mire of contradiction, and of plunging her into absurdities the most glaring—into difficulties the most inextricable!" †

The reverend body should know that, when a church has ceased to be temporally absolute, her spiritual influence is better preserved over her mystic friends by a dignified silence towards her *sincere and serious* opponents, than by vituperations against them,

Since, however, their ignorance of the natural influence of a progressive religious feeling leads them, blindfold, to anathematize indiscriminately all innovators: the virtue now most in request, is the moral courage that teaches how to disdain the insults and calumnies directed by the old priesthood against all

^{*} See their furious Review of Lord Brougham's Discourse of Natural Theology, No. 1.

[†] See "Theorem to Part II. of the New Sanctuary of Thought and Science."

radical reformers, and against all rational systems of education.

Sincere believers, be it known, are not so numerous as some still seem to think. Most people are now quite satisfied in being merely *thought to be* such: so that they pass for religious *in the estimation of others*, their object is attained.

It is curious to follow and to examine how far the "religious world" (so called) resolves itself into mutual humbug and mystification. We hold that all men and women have their doubts—that all are more or less sceptics in their own mystic religions; but that such is still, with many, the direct or indirect influence of priestly power over mind and over things, that there are few who dare openly avow their perplexity of thought and feeling in matters of *blind faith*; and it is *to fix those* perplexing doubts, by calling upon the reasoning faculties to subdue instinctive natural superstition, that a "church reform" should be directed.

We feel no impediment, no timorousness—our only difficulty is in making ourselves sure that we shall be understood *equally by the faithful, by the infidel, and even by the " atheist,*" should this last word, void of sense, still retain any rational meaning with any one.

THERE ARE NO WANTS, NO FEELINGS, NO THOUGHTS, NO ACTIONS, THAT ARE NOT AT ONCE IN THE SERIES OF CHANGES, THE EFFECT OF FORMER IMPRESSIONS, AND THE ANTECEDENT FACTS TO EVERY SUBSEQUENT ONE.

Thus we see, by comparing the records of the past

with the facts of the *present time*, that every thing connected with the WANTS of the human species, has of necessity conformed gradually to a progressive natural influence, which we call "*mental development*," since our reflecting faculties feel in a painful *discordance* at certain times with impressions which, *at former periods*, were in perfect *harmony* with human thought.

As things now are, churchmen of all sects, by endeavouring to confine knowledge among the people to such notions only as may combine and agree with the mystic persuasion—*it is their interest to preach* contribute not a little to retard for all classes the blessings of a more general civilization than Europe can at present boast of; they strive to maintain all the people under the fears natural to credulous indigence; but all men are not equally credulous, nor equally comfortable; and the twenty thousand committed for crime annually in England and Wales, are, we believe, the proportion out of fifteen millions of *more* or *less ignorant persons*, who feel neither so credulous, nor are so comfortably situated as the rest.

Our churchmen seem to take no notice of these annual committals—increased, during thirty years, from four thousand to twenty thousand, notwithstanding the voluntary emigration of about two hundred thousand people during the same period. They merely ask for more and more mystic churches.

They seem not to know that besides an increased population, nature generates new WANTS as civilization progresses; and that these new WANTS must be supplied by real EDUCATION, which is but another word for a greater supply of more true spiritual food *for intellectuality* than mere human instincts required.

From their very curious interpretation of the words "spiritual food for the people," one must indeed suspect they never had in view any thing else but the interests of their church, *i. e.* of themselves.

From the matter and manner of the teaching they continue to dole out to the people, not only week after week, but century after century—in the same mystic jargon (though not with all the same ceremonies), that was practised in the most remote periods of "sacred history," must it be supposed that they have not yet acquired the most distant notions of the natural effect of human inventions and discoveries upon human capacity—the most remarkable of which is an increased WANT of "spiritual food," in proportion as the mental machinery has been awakened, by the application to social life of these human inventions and discoveries.

But the principal fault lies with parents and teachers—and chiefly arises from the lamentable fact that nearly all teachers are mystic churchmen, mostly ignorant of all things it is *now* most urgent should be generally taught and diffused.*

They certainly can teach the mathematics, divinity, and the dead languages,[†] but what then ? what have men to do with the notions the two latter

^{* &}quot;Shall the future intelligence of Europe have to reproach England that her government found, in the prejudices and ignorance of her people, the most serious obstacles to useful reforms ?"

[†] See Note to page 62 and 63.

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convey, in the present stage of progressing civilization? and what with the first, without all the physical knowledge of which mathematics merely form the basis ?

Were the priests sufficiently skilled in all the modern arts and sciences—above all, could they teach the elements of useful real knowledge, as well as only give the means of acquiring it,—parents who now wish (for the most part we hope) that *the intellectuality of their children*, male and female, should be cultivated by *real education* ! rather than merely their *human instincts by mysticism*—would regard our public and private schools with very different feelings.

Since the reformation, the superior knowledge of realities, acquired and diffused by other men, having outstripped the priest—their examination, as to capacity, i. e. their "confirmation" and "ordination," HAS ACTUALLY BECOME A MERE FARCE !—since it ascertains only their capability of teaching one thing (divinity), now, all but useless, in the way it is taught, (except so far as it maintains their order) whilst it takes no cognisance at all of their capacity to teach any of the really useful and practical sciences which constitute the spiritual glory of this age !

All churchmen being compelled to mystify credulity, either through incapacity, or for the purpose of concealing the NEW TRUTHS considered by them dangerous for the people to know, education must now find its way to our public and private schools through some other channels.

Government, in fact, seems, in some degree, to be aware of the present deficiency of the priesthood as teachers of the people; and, considering what they once were, there can be no greater stigma upon the churchmen of the day than the bill now before parliament, intended to take *part* of the church funds for the purpose of education. Is it not telling them in so many words, "you have not done your duty as teachers to the people—you have neglected them, and in consequence of that neglect on your part, we are compelled to establish normal schools, to form new teachers, as well as a department of real education distinct from your order, and totally independent of any mystic influence, before whom henceforth all schoolmasters and teachers of the people, shall be examined as to their capacity *in all branches* of real and useful knowledge; and since

ALL THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH, MISCALLED

" CHURCH PROPERTY," ARE, IN REALITY, AN

EDUCATION FUND FOR THE PEOPLE, * we shall, of course, take from that fund whatever may be required to accomplish and fulfil the most

* "In fine—the plain fact is, that what is called *church proverty*, is really the nation's EDUCATION FUND, which is pocketed by those who neither do the work, nor will allow others to do it—and who should be paid off forthwith, that we may have efficient instructors in real knowledge for the entire population !—' Education is the whole service of the church '—the time will come when every church in the world will be a school-room. This is the only church reform worth having : to reduce salaries—to break up the purses—to visit the poor, and make them talk Welch in Wales ! is neither conservation nor reformation, but only miserable patchwork."—*Fox's Repository for June*, 1836, p. 384. important object of EDUCATION, as it must now be understood, and as originally intended?"

All opposition to so just and so wise an application of church property, can only proceed from parties who fancy themselves interested in perpetuating the mental bondage of Europe.

In the kind of instruction and in the quality of the teachers, England is far below all the countries of Europe and America, where proper attention is paid to the education of the people.

"In France, Switzerland, and Germany, there are schools everywhere formed for the training of teachers; * and the poorest of the people are taught, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, geography, NATURAL HISTORY, practical geometry, linear drawing, and music !

Until the schools of England, which profess to teach one and a half million of children, shall be able to convey instruction in these branches of learning, as well as in civil history, in chemistry, geology, phrenology, and in the important principle of political and *social* science, we may talk of "*education*," and by a courteous and complimentary form of speech, give that name to what occupies the schools scattered over the country; *but the thing, or any semblance of the thing, is indeed far enough from us.*

Finally, it cannot be denied, that new inventions and discoveries through scientific knowledge, prove themselves faithful auxiliaries to the democratic

^{*} Even at St. Petersburg, there is established what is called an *Ecole Pédagogique*, or school for teachers.

principle; and this is but a continuation of the physical law by which, in time past, absolutism and priestcraft have universally been united hand in hand. Yet, be it known to all, that the fanatic speeches delivered, the acts performed in opposition to the wants of real knowledge, and all the means employed to frustate radical reforms by the self-styled "conservatives" * and "divines" of the day, properly considered, are nothing more than the temporary resistance required in this by nature, as in all her other operations, to bring gradually to complete maturity the important human modifications of thought and feelings, commanded by time.

In the NEW ERA now commencing, whosoever may be called to the helm of state, must_feel as if impelled onwards by an *invisible power*, and that invisible power is the physical influence of progressing intellectual WANTS on human organization.

Under a free press with unshackled printers and publishers, it is mental power alone that rules in reality over society—and never have Governments under any circumstances succeeded in commanding MIND but through the torture and dungeons of inquisitorial barbarity! star-chambers! and bastilles! What better proofs do we need of the future complete success of REAL KNOWLEDGE against the upholders of superstition, than the terrors it has

^{* &}quot; Le jour de la création, quel bruit n'eût-il pas fait !--Mon Dieu conservons le cahos."-PAUL LOUIS COURIER.

[&]quot;How noisy would he have been on the day of the creation ! O, God! he would have said, *let chaos be preserved*."

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always inspired—even from its cradle—to the revengeful instinctive ferocity of all teachers of *blind* faith ! *

Having spoken above of the manifested symptoms for more "spiritual food," we shall begin Part IV. with our thoughts and impressions on the reality of the spiritual WANTS of the people.

* "The man who, resolutely divesting himself of habit and prejudice—of all the false impressions imbibed in childhood, resolves to seek for new truths, is sure to be assailed, threatened, mimicked, and insulted with abuse the most pitiful and insane —with derision the most paltry, stupid, and futile, wholly unworthy of the exaltation to which human attainment boasts to have arrived. His honesty is decried as presumptuous ! his avowal of naked truth, as seditious ! his exposure of existing abuses, as demoralizing !

"It is diligently whispered to *timidity*, *ignorance*, and *bigotry*—' take heed, beware of that man—he fears neither God nor Devil!' or some such sweeping clause of excommunication!

" Be that as it may, our conviction is that

"No SYBIL'S SCROLL do we now require— Though strange events come thronging thick and fast, Though hope or dread the horizon may inspire— No SYBIL'S SCROLL we need !—thy page great past Is opened to us ! therein crowd amassed All answers to our questionings, and 'tis there, If our calm looks unprejudiced we cast, WE the end shall trace, of deeds, and doom that wear To their conclusions on, like all things earth may share ! In sooth, No SYBIL do we need—nor seer, Experience has enriched us with her store Piled through the increase of ages, which each year, Each day augments." †

[†] The "Visionary"—or rather, we would say, Visions of coming truths, by Lady E. S. Wortley.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

ON THE

IDENTITY

OF

INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION

WITH

PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION.

By A Student in Realities.

PART IV

MENTAL CAPACITY-BRFORE " PATRONAGE."

"Adopt a new *fulcrum* on which may rest the lever of moral power to rule over intelligence,..or sink, more and more, in public opinion." NEW SANCTUARY, p. 67.

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Dr. Fleming, of Glasgow, has most truly said,—" If you wish your gaols to be tenantless, lay the axe to the root of the tree; attack vice in her stronghold; destroy her by destroying ignorance—for the only cure for natural ignorance and vice, is INTELLECTUAL BDUCATION."

THE FUTURE.

"The mighty power that is now rising in the world is INTELLECTUAL POWER. The great age of educated human nature is commencing! But instead of giving this mighty element the chief place in the problem of the future, men are still speculating about visible forces and agencies; about the power of armies, the strength of dynasties, and the barriers of *caste*. It is all in vain!

"Doubtless there will be disputings and railings. There will be checks and disturbances, attending this great progress of things, wants, and ideas. There will be oppositions in society; the rage of absolute kings! the mystic denunciations of fanaticism ! and the tumult of ignorance! but it is through all these that the great year of the world will advance ! And I cannot doubt—all agitations, and excitements, and trials notwithstanding—that a progress of things so inevitable, based as it is upon the very principles of the progressiveness of human thought involving such unquestionable rights—a progress whose origin is education, whose element is rational freedom, and whose cause is humanity,—must, with all its difficulties and dangers, be a progress to GENERAL GOOD."*

• See the Old and the New World, by the Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY. 2 vols. Fox, London, 1836.

THEOREM.

IV.

HAPPINESS in PEACE and SECURITY through CIVILIZATION is, or should be, the end of all human institutions and governments.

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To redeem mankind from this mental deficiency, and thus enable them by INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION to enjoy the free use of the organs they *all* possess, is the indispensable **RE-**LIGIOUS reform that should have precedence over all other civil ones, and is therefore *now* the ONE THING NEEDFUL.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS.

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ON THE RESPECT DUE TO THE FREE EXPRESSION OF ALL RELIGIOUS OPINIONS:---

"A French gentleman of some celebrity, speaking to me the other day of a young and distinguished Member of the House of Commons, said-and he was speaking before a large audience-' but he is a Methodist, is he not?' 'No! not that I know of,' I replied. 'Well, I will tell you what passed between him and me. We were talking of religion; I abused the Catholic religion; your countryman, Sir, was particularly civil:' 'you are a Protestant, I suppose, Sir,' he said. 'No, Sir; I am no Protestant.' 'You are no Protestant and no Catholic ; are you then a Mahomedan, or a Jew ?'---'No; I am neither Protestant, Catholic, Mahomedan, or Jew.' 'What religion are you of, then?' 'Sir, I profess the religion of Socrates.' 'Well, will you believe me ?' exclaimed my French gentleman,-this Member of your English House of Commons appeared much shocked!"

Now this was said loud in a saloon where there were many persons who, I happened to know were rigid and strict Catholics, and yet no one seemed in the slightest degree annoyed at this public and unnecessary avowal of deism on the part of the person who had been *speaking so indecently*.

"In England we know that a person using such language, would not only have excited the disgust the just and decent disgust with which such an avowal ought to be received—far beyond any disgust of this kind, the feeling excited would have been a sort of blood-curdling horror of superstitious abominations, which would have exaggerated into a ghost or vampire, a living mass of murder and impiety the person who professed himself thus openly a disciple of Plato."

"But Mr. Stuart mentions many cases of a similar kind in the United States of America, where there is certainly as much Christian fanaticism as in Great Britain; yet where no person thinks he has any right to abuse and condemn a fellow citizen for having different convictions from his own, however atrocious he may deem those convictions." * And why is it not the same in civilised England as in France and America? Because in England—

> "Beneath the mask Of Sanctity, the multitude is lured With golden dreams and tales of rapturous joys Unfelt, and visionary gleams of bliss Unseen; * * * * * * * Hence blindfold all, teachers and taught, alike They wandered on the verge of endless night, Till the bright harbinger of mental day Upon the nations dawned."

Because in England—the priests of all sects and creeds—the most respectable spiritual peer, as well as the ignorant puritanical Mawworm—have assumed for their order the monopoly of instructing the youths of all classes—beginning with the royal infant, destined to wear a crown and wield a sceptre; down to the child

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^{* (}Bulwer's France, vol. i. p. 115.)

of the lowest among the poor, destined to become a thief or a beggar !—all, all, are still subjected to sectarian mystification from the cradle to the grave, instead of receiving real mental education, the ample means of diffusing which, society *now* possesses.

Shall we then be silent on the most important of all social human interests—the nature, object, and utility of SPIRITUAL FOOD for all classes ?—No! no! impressed as we are with the progressive wants of civilization, and the sacred rights of intellectuality, our pen shall trace the whole truth; and be there but one man to peruse and meditate upon our views of mystic religions, a change in that one, we hope, will be effected.

ON THE INTERESTS OF RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE.

The favourite phrase of popes, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and of all priests; in short, of divines of every shape, colour, and doctrine—a phrase as familiar in their mouths as household words, has always been age after age,—" the interests of religion require," "the 'spiritual want' of the people demands," and, as in this instance, the Damnosa quid non imminuit Dies? of Horace powerfully applies, and as no opportunity is ever missed by the priesthood * of

* "The first evening meeting of the College of Physicianswas lately held. The assembly consisted of some of the most distinguished members of the learned professions, of eminent artists, and of persons of rank. Sir Henry Halford presided, and among the visitors who surrounded the table were the

196 WHAT MEANS "INTEREST OF RELIGION"

upholding superstition, the complete formula should in reality be—the present interests of the priesthood now require that the people should not be educated to such a point as to become too familiar with the pure revelations of natural science. But, what really are those interests ? and what must be understood in our time by " spiritual

Arch-bishops of York and Canterbury, Lord Melbourne, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Sefton, and several of the Judges. The President read a paper, the main subject of which was to call the attention of the hearers to the death-bed scenes of some of the most eminent English philosophers, and to the noble testimonies which they had given in their dying moments to the efficacy of the truths of the Gospel. In the last moments of Bacon, Boyle, Newton, Locke, Addison, and Dr. Johnson, were traced evidences of piety as pure as their intellectual qualifications had been brilliant; and the subject was treated with a fervour and grace which reflected great credit upon the learned orator, who had chosen so well, and treated so ably, this interesting theme." Such were still, in 1836, the mystic precaution of the clergy to maintain superstition.

For the life of us we cannot see what the death-bed scene of any philosopher has to do with his intellectual production while in health and peace of mind, and still less how such scenes can prove the truths of the Gospel more than the deathbed scene of a Turk or Jew can prove the truth of the Mahomedan or Jewish faith.

Now the reality of all this is, that the first impressions of infancy, as well as the last expressions of old age, manifest in all mankind the *religious feeling*: and this is the PHENOMENON; but then, to represent such expressions or impressions as manifesting the *exclusive* truth of this, or that, religion, proves nothing more than the wish to perpetuate a sectarian spirit unworthy of this age.

food ?" are questions that may now be answered according to the knowledge of the age, and no longer in the mystified spirit hitherto blindly followed by the upholders of superstition.

We sincerely believe, and we undertake to prove that the cant phrase "*interests of religion*," is no other in reality, than the general interest of human progressive knowledge! and that the cant phrase "*spiritual food for the soul*" must *now* be understood as expressing the intellectual WANTS of the human brain for more and more of that real knowledge.

Few among those who engage in religious controversy with mere sectarian views, have the least insight into the consequences of the physical modifications operated upon human sensitiveness, when a free press diffuses their mystic jargon to the millions; but any one who can raise himself above the party strife of the hour, and who, stripping the subject of the incumbrance of *useless learning* and the *mists of confusing words*, will lay its logic bare before him, must perceive that in all such controversies the real question at issue *now is*—

WHAT ARE THE PREROGATIVES OF THE IMPROVED HUMAN UNDERSTANDING?

From our experience of the past, we contend its exclusive privilege to be now nothing less, than to invade the province of faith !—to subdue the influence of mystic notions, by treating of them as the only possible natural basis of subsequent real knowledge.

The human understanding, gradually enlarged

under the law of continued mental progress, now most urgently requires an intellectual sphere of action as unbounded as infinite space; it will not, cannot, any longer be shackled in its operation by the narrow limits of absolute and stationary articles of blind faith—it henceforth demands to be fully satisfied by a sincere education in the realities of nature, and must, through the necessity of progress, place the human species under the now more attractive influence of unrestricted THOUGHT, INDUSTRY, AND SCIENCE.

"Is there—can there be any other instrument superior, or co-ordinate with the power of THOUGHT brooding over nature?

" Is there any field of inquiry pre-occupied by a higher authority, and to be for ever sequestered from the cultivation of reason? can any better recommendation be given to a proposition than, that it is rational?"

Have not INDUSTRY and SCIENCE, under freedom of thought, a tendency to "expand the range of our happiness"—to soften our nature—to improve our intellectual faculties—to increase our liberality and thus to advance general civilization? Is there any kind of "spiritual food" superior to the real and *positive* knowledge of ourselves and of our fellow beings?

What name shall be given to a beneficial influence so universally attractive, so congenial to the nobler feelings of our species, and so efficient in promoting the spiritual harmony of social communities, if not that of a NEW MEDIATION of THOUGHT, IN-DUSTRY, and SCIENCE ?

We say mediation of thought, industry, and science, in contradistinction to that of unqualified thought; the latter, when without natural philosophy and practical science as her pilot, does but wander among the vast and trackless regions of metaphysical abstractions. The German metaphysical school is an instance in point; for, although pursuing these airy subtleties with a contemplative sagacity, and a metaphysical furor unknown to other nations, the sole result of their mental and spiritual labours has been to suspend mystic ideality between earth and heaven; there to remain as helpless as before.

It is THOUGHT, in its direct application to the physical powers of nature, to the properties of matter, that we hail as a prolific source of new feelings congenial to civilization—a new MEDIATION between mankind and all things yet unknown—a progressing MEDIATION about to become far more useful to the sons of earth now mentally free, than any misunderstood notions of mystic salvation, or any fixed special grace promised by any past or future mystic Deities, ever were or can become.

To this—ignorance will answer—but we cannot do without spiritual teachers! we want spiritual food! agreed:—far be it from our wish to deprive you of them, we merely presume to shew, that you are entitled to a vast deal more intellectual knowledge than your present mystic teachers can impart by what our remote ancestors called " spiritual food."

200 WHY NOT REFORM THE PRIESTS?

And that the reform now most really wanted is-

A RADICAL REFORM IN THE PRIESTHOOD.

The people cannot be too often told of the historical facts few among them as yet seem to understand, viz.: that (as we mentioned it before)* all priesthood was, in the infancy of civilization, the natural teachers of nations *in* ALL THINGS *that could fully satisfy* the instinctive wish to know—be they spiritual, scientific, mechanical, or agricultural; and that their wealth and power have originated in their former general UTILITY to the people.

All the pages of history prove this fact—"There is a glimpse of latent light to show that all monastic institutions—the *temples*, the *synagogues*, *abbeys*, *priories*, *convents*, *nunneries*, *oratories*, and all mysteries, were originally instituted as schools for the knowledge of their time; notwithstanding, however, the progress of useful science, no kind of real knowledge is *now* requisite to make a modern bishop. Yet the origin of the title of bishop is, that of an astronomical seer—a looker-out or OVER-SEER of THE SUBORDINATE OFFICER of SCIENCE."

"Ignorant fools they must have been, to have allowed so important, so honourable, and so dignified an office, to become corrupt, useless, and to fall into disrepute with those among the people who think."

For the church to become really useful, its ministers should rise to bishoprics not through family or

^{* *} See page 48, 80, and 124.

political interest, but through preparative and intellectual capability; to fill a truly spiritual office, it should be required of them to be first-rate professors and practical men, in the *display of real science*. Even in that sort of science too, of which they are now so much afraid—the united knowledge of the properties and relations of *all* things, the physical laws of all organised substances, the true end and mission of all human wants and feelings—this is the spiritual food now most required.

"The clergy of Europe have always dreaded the expansion of THOUGHT. In what class of ages do we refer the "dark ages" of man's history? To whose account are they placed? To the Pagan? Jew? Mahomedan? Infidel? or whose? I blush for the Christian Church, when I consider it! Yes, it did and does belong to christianity, as your church has mistaken it—and none of you are yet out of the fog created by the mystery. Not one priest has gained light of mind sufficient to dispel a particle of that fog of the dark ages—you are all as churchmen, as dark as any of those who lived in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or any other century, and ten times more dull. The admission by the Church itself that the dark ages are within its reign, is decisive of the question.*"

^{*} Even to this day, they endeavour to maintain superstition wherever a spirit of regeneration is manifested :—" In one of the official documents printed in the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, we find a letter dated Athens, where a missionary is now distributing his mystic books —ATHENS! the very place where during *heathen* days those

"EXISTING THINGS alone can be the subject of man's useful inquiry, and it is of more importance to him to know their properties as *now* ascertained, than their time or history—yet, nothing of the properties of existing things is taught by the church; * * every thing is falsified to man's credulous views and considerations, by the priesthood of all mystic churches; nature appears to them distorted—they live without certainty, and die deceived as to the future.

"Knowledge is as infinite as existing things, and man's power of acquisition, illimitable. Is it not then a proper labour and business—a moral duty of each generation of men, to diffuse among their contemporaries, and to leave behind them for their successors, the largest possible amount of *real* and *positive* knowledge.

"This is true wealth, and will increase the value of all other wealth: which, without *real* knowledge, is mere animal gratification." *

heathenish arts, literature, and science, and philosophy, and poetry, and painting, and sculpture, once flourished ! But now it is Christian; and instead of popular orators—rational philosophers —patriotic poets—painters or divine sculptors, they have the mystic agent of the English and Foreign Bible Society !—instead of a Demosthenes, of a Socrates, of a Plato, of a Sophocles, Pindar, or Praxitiles, they have the Rev. H. D. Lewis distributing his bibles. Oh, Athenians ! how are the mighty fallen ! through those mystic extinguishers, whose aim is to terrify human instinct, the better to shackle mind, and misguide genius." —See "Star in the East," No. 39.

* See, Church Reform, by that bold and persevering enemy to all kind of sectarianism and superstition, the *now Rev. R. Carlisle*, 1835, p. 71 to 80. "The spirit of knowledge gives life and new properties to every thing, as far as man's use of it be in question."

Not only do the present clergy teach nothing practically useful, not only do they make war upon philosophy and science, but they have gradually *usurped* by their mystic art more wealth than would be required to educate the children of all Europe, and they actually educate none;—they have defrauded the crown* of the better part of the "*first fruits*," and have claimed from the people increased tythes, churchrates, and Easter offerings, as property increase. †

* At the Reformation, *first fruits* and *tenths* were transferred to the crown (26 Henry VIII. c. 3.), and a court of *first fruits* was established to receive the annates and tenths from the clergy, and remit them to the King's Exchequer — (32 Henry VIII. c. 45.) The *Liber Regis* contains the valuation *then* ordered by the King. In that book, all the Episcopal Sees and benefices of England appear; and all *that have not since been exempted*, pay first fruits and tenths ACCORDING TO THAT VALUATION "only."—See FIRST FRUITS AND TENTHS' REPORT, 1837.

[†] The immense sums given from time to time by our forefathers for religious instruction (when no other education could be obtained), for a considerable period gave undue power to a Catholic hierarchy, which the reformers of old times—the *Wickliffes*, the *Luthers*, the *Knoxs*, and the *Calvins*, successfully resisted—have been seized upon by a Protestant clergy still more rapacious, who (to a greater extent than the clergy of any other part of the world) have, by a variety of unholy means, now become possessed of property which they call " ecclesiastical."

"Not content with having a large portion of the landed property of the country set aside for their use, they exercise a We say usurped, because formerly it was not so. Mons. d'Hericourt, in his analysis of the decree of Gratian, says, (p. 22,) "It was held in former days highly desirable that the clergy should, in order to procure the means of *supporting themselves*, and *increase their power of distributing alms*, betake themselves to the exercise of some honest trade, or to the cultivation of the earth."

This statement is strengthened by the words of St. Paul, in addressing both the Thessalonicans and the Ephesians.

In the same spirit is couched the decree of the council of Carthage, which says, (canon 5,)" However

deadening influence on the mental energies of the nation, checking the march of improvement, crecting artificial barriers to impede the spread of science and the progress of civilization. The church has mystically trained up a large portion of the public to believe that all the affairs of life require for ever the mystic sanction of a priest: is a child born? the priest must baptize it. Does it emerge from childhood ? the priest must confirm it. If the young of either sex wish to marry, a priest must celebrate the nuptial rite; a priest must visit the sick bed, and a priest must deposit the inanimate corpse in the earth. A stranger would say, that of course the endowments of the church is the price paid for all these mystic ceremonies. Oh! no, not the very smallest of these things can be accomplished without a fee; and in addition to the fees and to the immence property which the church has become possessed of, she has called upon the people to contribute an annual tax to defray the expenses of her superstitions, her sacraments, and her saint days; but this last tax requires the sanction of the inhabitants at large, a great number of whom beginning to see the absurdity of the system, have very properly refused to vote a churchrate."-See PARISH CLOCK-Star in the East, 42, July 1, 1837.

able the priest may be in spiritual labours, he may gain his bread by the work of his hands."

The fifty-second canon of the same decree says— "The priest may gain his food and clothing by the work of his hands and agriculture, without permitting such labour to interfere with his ministerial duties."

The council of Chalcedon held the same doctrines; and the principle has been acted upon *for ages*. The ecclesiastical historians furnish many instances of bishops and other ministers of the church, who have applied themselves to different trades.*

St. Augustus has left a treatise, "De Opera Manuum quotidium," for the use of his priests.

* Some of the clergy, as we advance to the age preceding the Norman Conquest, appear as labouring to excel in the mechanical arts. Thus *Dunstan*, besides being competent to draw and paint the patterns for a lady's robe, was also a smith, and worked on all the metals. Among other labours of his industry, he made two great bells for the church of Abingdon. *Ethelwold, the bishop*, made two other bells for the same place; and a wheel full of small bells, to be turned round for its music, on feast days. He also displayed much art in the fabrication of a silver table of curious workmanship.

Stigand, the bishop of Winchester, made two images and a crucifix, and gilt and placed them in the cathedral of his diocese. One of our kings made a monk (who was a skilful goldsmith) an abbot. It was even exacted by law that the clergy should pursue these occupations; for Edgar says, "We command that every priest, to increase knowledge, diligently learn some handicraft." It began then to be felt that skill could add value to the material on which it operated; and as the increasing wealth of society enabled some to pay for its additional cost, a taste for ornament and massy value now arose. —See Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons. St. Benoit has ordained it for his monks, as one of his most essential rules; and St. Thomas praises and authorises the same practice.

The Cambrian clergy were formerly in the habit of increasing their worldly goods, not by trade or agriculture, but even by playing the fiddle at rural dances.*

To this it will be answered, that our advanced state of civilization will not allow bishops or other priests to follow manual and mechanical callings-that they are all gentlemen-very well; agreed: but let them in that case be requested to cultivate the progressive sciences. Let them give us the benefit of their INTELLECTUAL acquirements, as all gentlemen at this time are expected to do if they possess any. Let them speak to our mind, not to our animal instincts. Let them be made to understand that all Doctors in " Divinity" are de facto, Doctors in the unknown, i. e. Doctors IN ENQUIRY !- bid them drop gradually the mystic unintelligible repetitions used in a more barbarous condition of society, and place, once for all, morality, religion, charity, and love, upon their natural and most probable basis? +

† "If three children, born four months ago, were to be brought up in separate apartments, entirely shut out from all the world, and taught nothing, only fed and kept clean by a dumb man, dressed unlike any creature on the earth—let them be brought out and examined at 21 years of age—each of them would have a yelp, a groan, or sigh, peculiar to man none of them could speak, or understand any thing—they would not know a man, beast, bird, plant, or tree—they would have

^{*} New Monthly for Oct. 1806, p. 188.

MORALITY DOES NOT DEPEND SOLELY ON THE MYSTIC INSTRUCTION OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

All admit that private interests must give way when and where the public good is concerned; if,

no idea of our Gods, angels, devils, heaven, or hell-they would not even know that they themselves must die ; such is the state of untaught secluded man ! Again,-if three children were born, four months ago, of protestant parents-one by the wife of an aristocrat; one by the wife of a beggar; one by the wife of a tradesman,-send the first to be brought up and educated by a Mahomedan, in Turkey; the second to be brought up and educated by a Roman Catholic, in Spain; the third to be brought up and educated by a Jew, in Amsterdam. Let these meet in London when they are 21 years of age. The aristocrat's son will be a Mahomedan; the beggar's son a Roman Catholic : the tradesman's son a Jew. Now mark, all these were born of Christian parents, professing the Protestant religion; and if they had been brought up and educated by their parents, they would all have been Protestant Christians, instead of a Mahometan, a Roman Catholic, and a Jew. No man that ever reasoned will believe, that any responsibility can possibly attach to the belief or religion of these three young men; and, if so, no reasonable being can believe that any responsibility can attach to himself for his belief, whether it be true or false; therefore, there neither can be merit or demerit for any man's religious belief. Now, it is evident from this, that if each man would only say to himself, " had I been brought up and educated as my friend has been, who professes a religion different from mine, I should believe as he now does," every sect would then have kind feelings for each other, and would esteem each other, as if they all believed alike. These facts of nature must speak conviction to every unprejudiced mind; by them all the sects in the world may be induced, to "love one another," and respect each other's opinions in matters, on which nothing yet can be demonstrated."-The Schoolmaster

therefore, it be clearly explained and fully demonstrated, that mystic forms of instruction have become a public evil, and that a national education in the true *spirit* of the sciences would now be a great public good, no one can hesitate to remove those whose private interest it is to continue teaching the old forms of religion, notwithstanding the notoriously total failure of such instruction, to diffuse morality, virtue, and real knowledge among those classes, who happen not to be in the social position which nature so imperiously requires them to be in, in order that they may become sensible of, and alive to, the WANT of real knowledge, morality, and virtue.*

It is well known to such of the bishops, who, in spite of the modern thraldom of their profession, have been led to free inquiry by the irresistible human instinct of searching for more and more knowledge, that the mind of man, after having tasted of the once "forbidden fruit" of conviction by the aid of scientific demonstrations, refuses its assent to any metaphysical speculations, not founded on the analogies of nature, the new lights of science, and the percep-

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^{*} The want of an internal, active principle, capable of correcting the *exaggerated* impression resulting from our instincts, is felt in all the institutions of old society. When temptation to crime increases among the ignorant, the legislation of Europe knows no better expedient for its repression, than the exaggeration of punishment. But in a better conducted system of government and education for all classes, more will be gained by an artful avoidance of the occasional causes of instinctive passion, than by a direct conflict with their prevailing tendencies.—See on this Sir T. C. Morgan's Philosophy of Life.

tion of cultivated reason: why then do not these superior capacities enter at once upon the noble labour of conciliating religion and philosophy by endeavouring at least to convince the whole of the reverend body of the necessity of entertaining and diffusing more natural views of the "religious feeling, and of all hidden or sacred mediations, than those which have been derived from the garbled, narrow, and consequently illiberal interpretation of the Scriptures—why do they not strive to maintain the high social position they once occupied, by adopting the new lights time has thrown upon mankind, and, by becoming themselves rational teachers, in accordance with those laws of progressive human nature, revealed by the true *spirit* of science?

In attempting to answer for them, far be it from our intention to judge them severely; we shall be lenient with them, because they seem to *know* less concerning progressive *spirit* than they do about stationary forms.

Most of the divines of the present day are aware, however, that a tacit acquiescence in the diffusion of absurdities so insulting to the human mind as are *now* their "*articles* of *faith*," is an act most degrading to the natural rights of intellect, and not only contrary to the principles, but most inimical to the true *spiri* of progressive religion.

But their own free inquiries into the nature of man, have not yet gone so far as to convince either themselves, or the power united with them, of the most important physical truth, revealed to others by the repeated experience and observation of facts.

PRIESTS SELDOM TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE PHYSICAL LAWS OF ORGANIC LIFE,

which are not only uncontrolable by human will, but materially influence what they are pleased to call our "free will." The cry of the day is, however, "cultivate the understanding of the multitude!" and as the old clergy dare not now oppose an open and decided negative, they endeavour to neutralize it by insisting more than ever upon what they call, the "interests of religion," and "spiritual food for the people," never taking into consideration how far, TIME—the irresistible reformer and transformer of all things and all feelings—has changed the spirit or meaning of their favourite phrase, by revealing to mankind a knowledge of MAN more true, and more in harmony with reason, than any of their mystical "revelations" ever produced.

They still endeavour to vitiate by the leaven of superstition, the mass of real knowledge now beginning to be diffused, and to nullify, as far as they are able, the efforts of the friends and supporters of a rational scientific education for the children of the people.

They talk ore rotundo about morality and virtue, as if they could be forthcoming at any given time and place, by the magic of their word of command; and they insist upon early *mystic* instruction, in order to insure a *blind* faith in the most glaring absurdities presented as true "spiritual food," rather than compromise, venture, or forego, the social advantages of morality, virtue, and rectitude of conduct, which they

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still believe (in their infatuated ignorance of man's true nature) that mankind owes entirely, exclusively, and for ever, to their mystical forms and pulpit exhortations.*

We do not here question the sincerity of the priesthood—many, no doubt, act under the fullest conviction of, and most perfect confidence in, the correctness of *their own* views of truth; we cannot, however, but lament that a body of men to whom the instruction of youth is for the most part *at present* entrusted, should be composed, either of such whose

^{*} The necessary truth of the distinction between the mobile of human words and actions when trained by psychology, or when educated by rationalism, was lately fully illustrated in the House of Lords, on the occasion of petitions against the Poor-Law Amendment Bill (April 7, 1837): the Bishop of Exeter was moved throughout the whole of a long speech, by feelings generated solely through our animal instincts-such as ideality, wonder, and veneration. The rev. prelate was no doubt sincere, and, bound by oaths and mystic training, he was endeavouring to impress on the house the dreadful situation of a pauper, now compelled against his conscience to hear divine service in the poor-house, and prevented from attending his own parish church, when the tolling of its bells called him there-Lord Melbourne, who has already given the country repeated proofs of being impelled to action through intellectuality, and unsophisticated honesty of purpose; is reported to have-first praised the bishop for his Godly motive, and then to have remarked, that "upon this, as upon many other subjects, it happened that the topics which afforded the greatest room for the display of eloquence-for appealing to the feelings and exciting the passions, were frequently used in support of the side which was more opposed, than favourable, to truth and to reason."-See Lord Melbourne's Speech in the "Times," of April 8, 1837.

zeal is greater than their judgment, or of those who being fettered by oaths, subscription, articles of faith, and university privileges, and moreover browbeaten by episcopal tyranny, are totally incapacitated and deterred from promoting education in realities, not only on their own plans, but also upon those suggested by others whose mental freedom, superior knowledge, experience and acquirements, so eminently qualify them for educators.

Now, what is that most important *law of organic life*, to the ignorance of which must be attributed, the pertinacity with which the clergy cling to a purely religious instruction as the only *true* basis of all knowledge, morality, and rectitude of conduct?

It is the law of nature by which the feelings of all organised substances, including the human species, are regulated; and which confirmed by repeated observation and long experience, demonstrates that

KNOWLEDGE, MORALITY, AND VIRTUE, ARE PHYSICAL WANTS OF OUR ORGANIZATION,*

just as much, as are *hunger*, *thirst*, *cold*, \mathcal{G} *c*.; and that as the latter are relieved by food, drink, and raiment or shelter, so are the former by those rational

* Generally speaking, all men possess in themselves the perfect garden of humanity, and require nothing but the art of its cultivation to find themselves possessed of every flower included in the system. Is it not then astonishing, that any who make truth an object of pursuit should so overlook their natural advantages as to turn their view *outwards* instead of *inwards*, to infinite space, instead of to their own feelings; or should seek abroad, with pains and difficulty, what they might with no

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and tender emotions to which we give the names of mental conceptions, understanding, love, respect, esteem, friendship, urbanity, generosity, &c. &c., but which never can be generated in the human breast before the more urgent organic WANTS are fully satisfied; for, the human *animal* must first be tamed then must be soothed, and to a certain extent made happy and comfortable, before the *intellectual* or *spiritual being* can become manifest. Now, the mission of all mystic religions was merely to tame and to sooth.

> "Where nature reign'd, in solemn state, There, superstition chose her seat; Her vot'ries knew, with subtle art, Thro' *wond'ring eyes* to chain the heart; By terrors of the scene to draw And TAME the SAVAGE to their law, Then seat themselves on nature's throne, Making her mighty spell their own." *

And this was good but for a time. Experience has since proved, and science has demonstrated:----

1.—That, to think otherwise of the possible growth of knowledge, morality, and virtue, betrays the profoundest ignorance of human nature.

2.-That all human feelings are the natural re-

* DR. DRENNAM.

trouble find at home—if they could but lay aside their fond exceptions ?—It is the same in morals as in matters of science. The point of truth lies as usual in the middle ;—between self and social observation, for morals ;—between national and foreign, for politics ;—between theory and practice for all knowledge whatever.—Monthly Repository and Magazine for August, 1837.

sults of successive impressions made on a "SENSITIVE SUBSTANCE," not only organised as most other animals are, to feel hunger, thirst, cold, &c., and therefore to require in common with them, food, drink, and warmth, but moreover organised to feel in due natural succession the spiritual WANTS of real knowledge, morality, and virtue, ennobled by freedom of THOUGHT.

3.—That, these nobler WANTS never will be felt until that superior SENSITIVE SUBSTANCE has obtained the full security and comforts in food, shelter, and raiment, which nature bestows without restriction upon all kinds of inferior animals.

4.—That, then only it can be reasonably expected, that the nobler feelings which have been denied to the brutes, and are peculiar to MAN, can be developed within him.

5.—That, on reflection, it appears most absurd to demand, from an organization ever so superior, the noble feelings (such as those of understanding, morality, and all virtues), that are to distinguish it from all inferior ones—when the unfavourable circumstances and the social difficulties which surround most men, place them in a permanent situation FAR WORSE than that, which nature has allotted to all the inferior animals—food, raiment, and shelter, as far as are concerned.

6.—That, however much the primitive ignorance of mankind might have been satisfied with clerical mystification to such a degree as, under the influence of delusive hopes to defy even death itself:—a progressive sensitive organisation possessing the means of comfort and inquiry, cannot submit to the degrading ordeal beyond the period of time which is necessary to generate in succession, a superior knowledge resulting from the increasing advantages of civilization, and the greater development of mental sensitiveness which invariably follows the cultivation of the arts and the enjoyment of intellectual and social urbanity.*

The first natural WANTS of human organiza-

• "L'histoire à la main et à l'aide des monumens antiques, nous avons des preuves évidentes de certaines variations, qui peuvent servir à établir la courbe d'une progression indéfinie.

"Ne savons-nous pas combien la civilisation a modifié le physique de l'homme sauvage ?—dans quelles limites *elle a aminci les os du crane*, et perfectionné ses organes intellectuels *aux depens de leur enveloppe osseuse* ?—Combien l'expression s'est répandue plus douce sur sa face, et la perspicacité plus pénétrante dans son regard ;

"Ne sommes-nous pas en état d'apprécier l'influence du croisement des races, celle de l'expatriation, du changement de la nouriture et des habitudes?—Et la culture qui n'est à même d'en signaler les prodiges ? qui ne sait par quelles transformations elle est capable de travestir les organes, d'exagérer même les formes et les proportions ?

"Nous convenons de toutes ces choses; nous les enregistrons volontiers. Mais nous nous y arrêtons comme à un cran invariable, auquel la force matérielle nous aurait porté, et comme si nous craignions d'élever la vue pour fixer la série des autres.

"Le Géomètre avec *cinq* points continue une courbe; avec *cent* points n'oserons-nous pas en poser un nouveau?"

See Nouveau système de Physiologie, F. V. Raspail. (Paris 1837), p. 318, Tom. II.

J. B. Baillère, 219, Regent Street, London.

tion, when nothing was known by the laity, are, what have invested the priests of all religions with the authority they everywhere possess-just as it was the "fears and jealousies of men in ignorance, that have made the love and power of absolute kings."-Now, we contend that all these instinctive feelings being the exclusive appanage of profound ignorance : if Aristotle's dictum be correct-that "the difference between a well informed man, and one totally ignorant, is as great as that, between the living and the dead !"-it necessarily follows, that however valuable the mystic forms of religions and their ministers may have been to the period of savage and barbarous existence, they are utterly useless and must be reformed during the coming period, when a real knowledge of nature shall be so generally diffused as to promote rational civilization and CLEARER SENSE among the people.

This reform may be done in true spirit and without schism. The present want of some great change in education has *just been* well and most powerfully expressed by the new Bishop of Norwich, who is reported to have said* in one of the most intellectual sermons ever preached "Before they complained of *schism* (meaning, we suppose, the heads of the universities), they must know what *schism* was. Let no one think himself free from schism, because of *outward form*; there might be unity of spirit without unity of form. It was the object of cducation in

* Normich Mercury : from the Times of August 21, 1837.

raising people in the moral scale, to place their minds above the sensualities of the world,—to prepare them for the *spirit* and not alone for the *forms* of religion."

> "The mystic world Of ideality and wonder, Is all but crushed into ruin! It totters—reels—and falls: REAL KNOWLEDGE has crushed it!* Some bear its fragments, oft to vacancy, And weep over its ruined beauties.
> Son of civilization, As thou art powerful, In splendour build The fabric up again; From thy own bosom build it up A renovated life! Begin with CLEARER SENSE, And let new songs resound ! ""

As we have said before, the spirit or mental want for knowledge being of a progressive nature, all forms of worship, and fixed articles of faith, established on the *first dawn* of *primitive* knowledge, must be of a temporary duration, and will sooner or later become the *spiritual* RUINS of time.

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The position we are here endeavouring to maintain, while better calculated both by its originality and strength than any former one, to convince the people of the correctness of the opinion we have before advanced, viz. that the priesthood has rendered far greater services to mankind in ignorance, than any other order of men, proves also the impossibility of their being much longer tolerated in civilised Europe, either as mystic lecturers, instructors of youth, or solemnizors and sole registrars of mystic births, forced marriages, and catacombal deaths!

Let us then thank and reward, but discard them; just as nurses are dismissed when the child enters adolescence, or as tutors and preceptors are thanked and rewarded when youth attains to manhood. That the SPIRIT may onward move.

"That they may no more In bitterness of heart attempt to teach What their mind cannot grapple with, but fathom The secret places of the earth, and trace The seeds of things ere they burst into being, NOR DEAL IN WORDS ALONE!" *

"The dissolution of monastic establishments in England, in the reign of Henry VIII., is a circumstance of great historical interest for this age, and closely connected with the circumstances under which considerable property is now held, both by laymen and ecclesiastics. The question of breaking up the monasteries was formally proposed by Cromwell,

^{*} See "Goethe's Faust."

one of the ministers of Henry VIII., in the year 1535, and a general visitation of the monasteries by commissioners was ordered. * * * *

"Dr. Lingard states, in his 'History of England,' that it was calculated that, by this Act, about 380 religious communities would be dissolved; and that an addition of 32,000*l*. would be made to the yearly revenue of the crown, besides the present receipt of 100,000*l*. in money, plate, and jewels. * *

"The commissioners who were appointed to put the Act in execution were ordered to proceed to each religious house to announce its dissolution to the superior—to make an inventory of the effects—to secure the convent-seal and the title-deeds— and to dispose of the inhabitants according to certain rules. The superior received a pension for life:—of the monks, those who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows, and had to seek anew the means of existence. Others of the monks, who were placed in another class, were divided among the larger monasteries, or, in case they wished to leave the ecclesiastical state, were promised employment.

"It appears now to have been the determination of the king and his ministers to deal with the larger monasteries in the same way as with the smaller ones. For a considerable period, commissioners were at work investigating the circumstances and condition of each establishment. In 1539 a bill was brought into Parliament vesting in the crown all the property, moveable and immoveable, of the monasteries, and by the spring of the year 1540 it had been surrendered into other hands.

"Dr. Lingard gives the following scale of pensions allotted to the ejected inhabitants of the monasteries. To the superiors, from 266*l*. to 6*l*. per annum; priors of cells, generally about 13*l*. and in a few instances 20*l*.; to the other monks, pensions of 6*l*., 4*l*., or 2*l*., with a small sum to provide for immediate wants on their departure. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4*l*. It should be recollected that the value of money has greatly changed since that period.

"As soon as an abbey was surrendered, the commissioners, according to Burnet, proceeded to break the seal and assign pensions to the members. The plate and jewels were reserved for the king; the furniture and goods were sold. The abbot's lodging and the offices were left standing for the convenience of the next occupant: the church, cloisters, and apartments of the monks were stripped of the lead and every saleable article. * * *

"On the suppression of the religious houses, Henry VIII. created six new episcopal sees—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, and fourteen abbeys and priories were converted by him-into cathedral and collegiate churches, and this was good in 1539."

The NEW CREATIONS required now, for the understanding! to ensure, at last, a real Protestant education *in inquiry*, under the new mediation of THOUGHT, INDUSTRY, and SCIENCE, are:—mechanics' institutions in every parish,—livings for lecturers in *Realities*, and halls of science, wherein to instruct all the people in astronomy, geology, physiology, phrenology; in chemical manipulations, and in organic chemistry, without any mystification of the "vital principle" * national galleries of practical knowledge, schools of art, museums in every town;— and philosophical apparatus to demonstrate in every new church, the *intelligence* ! and real properties of organised matter.

It is, therefore, that we suggest in all sincerity, the priesthood should be remunerated for their past services by the allowance of liberal pensions, and that their mystic profession as far as it is connected with national education, should be gradually abolished. Since experience has repeatedly shewn that the object and result of their mystic instruction is to cramp and mutilate the mental energies of our children, let it be made high treason against the MAJESTY OF MIND, for any one of them to meddle with a sound and pure education in all things as they are actually

* On every new discovery that enlarges the sphere of human knowledge, our modern priesthood are always sure to say—All this may be very true, but it must be viewed in connexion with the "*vital principle*." "And what are we to understand by this expression, 'vital principle?' If we consider it attentively, we shall very soon discover that it is one of those vague, common-place words that pass current among men, and which serve rather to cover our ignorance than to advance our knowledge. When we endeavour to trace the 'vital principle' to the nervous energy, and the nervous energy to electrical action, we at least endeavour to put our system in a tangible form; but when we profess to explain the animal functions by a 'vital principle,' our explanation is mere verbiage."—See Mackintosh's ELECTRICAL THEORY. known to have been—to be—and to become, according to the surrounding circumstances; but which in their capacity of mystic priests, all clergymen are ever, more or less, bound to misrepresent and mystify.*

"See old Experience shakes his hoary locks,

And from past errors, with a sapient look, Prognosticates the future: 'Sons of earth ! (He says), I see and I commend your zeal Which bids you struggle for a nobler post, And claim the native dignity allowed To your *progressive* faculties; sublim'd By VIRTUE, and by FREEDOM !—Heavenly boons ! Their value well I know, and much I wish (As each on other always has bestowed The surest aid) that both could be secured; FOR NEITHER IS SECURE ALONE.'" +

But to this, many will say the greatest difficulty, is not how to deal with the priests; the instinctive fears of ignorance are the stumbling blocks; and therefore, the most interesting problem to be solved in the present collision between mystic and mental

* "Religion, as it is still commonly taught in the form of *mystic creeds* and unmeaning dogmatism, tends to check intellectual reflection—to make the mind torpid—and to retard the growth of the reasoning faculties.

"Indeed, old religion itself is often made to consist in a blind acquiescence, in the mere assertions or authoritative mandates of priests or councils. He who approaches the altar, is required to prostrate his understanding at the feet of the officiating minister !* and what is the effect of this habit, but a mutilation of the brain !"—Robert Fellows, LL.D. Religion of the Universe.

† Rev. H. Boyd.

affairs, is—how shall the people themselves be made to understand fully the *conditional* physical law of mental progress which has compelled mankind, to be mystic believers *for a time* :—how make them comprehend clearly the natural power now possessed by the civilised and scientific world, of converting them gradually into better informed, virtuous, and well-disposed, unmystified, rational beings?

The answer is plain and straightforward—It can be done only in one way, and that is through MENTAL EMANCIPATION; by giving to the people a correct knowledge of the *progressive spirit* of TRUTH* and

* "It is one of the sins of language, that all treatises proposing truth for their aim, do and must proceed on the plan of making some word or phrase their pivot of motion. Words are a sort of paper currency, in which we deal for dispatch of business, but we forget to limit their issue to the amount of our *assets*; and in the meantime truth is a bankrupt. Here then, in a few words, lies the ultimate misfortune of truth.

"We can never, either—first—possess thoughts wholly just, nor—secondly—deliver justly the thoughts we have. A scheme of philosophy cannot be entirely just and consonant to our progressive wants of truth, and is, for these reasons, a temporary chimera. Yet, with respect to the affairs of truth generally, very much, I am persuaded, is still in our power; and that much, neither abstract and over-speculative; nor interesting only to the student in philosophy, but of immediate concern to all, and of a powerful bearing on practical life. There is, however, only one condition on which truth will be wooed. He that begins must begin with a courage able to meet any conclusions, otherwise the whole pursuit is a farce, and to talk of truth as a sort of *Irish Bull*."—See the MONTHLY REPOSITORY for Aug. 1837. a more positive *intellectual* conviction than *instinctive* faith ever did, ever could, or ever will bestow.

"We think of the ignorant poor in the way of charity, for to deal out charity gratifies not only benevolence, but pride; we think much of them in the way of charity, but we think little of them in the way of justice. Justice, however, ranks before charity —and they would need less charity had they more social justice done to them.

"Why not then reform ourselves ? why not make laws and regulations more consistant with natural human justice ? why persevere in our partial exclusive mode of civilization; which, made to depend much more on property, than on character and moral worth, leaves behind the greater number, not to live, but to vegetate in the brutal barbarism of ignorance in rags."*

Thus are we lead to the serious consideration of the means *now* possessed by modern society, for improving the moral disposition, for polishing the manners—and for cultivating the understanding of all the industrious classes among the people, *without* mystified ETHICS, without church sermons, without mystic cathechisms, *without* PSYCHOLOGY, and *without* EXPENCE; but with REALITY and JUSTICE!

"The best means of serving the working classes, is to increase their means of serving themselves."

* See-Hampden in the 19th century.

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ON THE PROPRIETY AND JUSTICE OF AVAIL-ING OURSELVES OF ALL THE RESOURCES OF MODERN SOCIETY, FOR PROMOTING THE REAL EDUCATION OF ITS OPERATIVE CLASSES.

THE brutality and stupidity of those who are called the *lower orders* have long been a subject of complaint in the mouths of the more polite and aristocratic portion of the community, who have even been so unjust as to reproach the former with vices partly, if not solely, generated by their own selfish, exclusive, and miscalled *social* system.

That brutality has not, long ere this, been eradicated from society, and replaced by a reverence and taste for the productions of nature and genius, has not been owing to a want of the means of so doing, but to an ignorance of the part assigned in all countries to mental progressiveness, to an imperfect knowledge of human nature, and to our rulers not yet being aware how intimately the real sciences (wherever they flourish) are associated with the true spirit of religion and politics.

The natural consequence of this ignorance of the beneficial influence exercised by the conceptions of one brain over other brains is, that, here in England, the knce is still expected to bend before Episcopalian sabbath regulations, whose only effect, in the present day, is to perpetuate the observance of a taciturn, gloomy, and humiliating worship—a form of worship which, however much it might have benefited mankind by its theocratic absolute sway in the dark ages, when no other means existed for soothing ignorance and repressing brutality, than those of working upon the *instinctive* hopes and fears of the vulgar—is now wholly irreconcileable with the advance which MAN has already made in the true knowledge of himself, and in that of all surrounding *unperishable* matter.

Few are now disposed to dispute the power which the study and contemplation of the works of nature, art, and genius possess, of humanizing and elevating the character of man by substituting moral and intellectual pleasures for sensual ones, and by inspiring a praiseworthy and generous spirit of emulation; and certainly a nation so rich as ours is, in deposits of all that is rare, curious, and interesting, whether in public or in private collections, has ample means at its disposal for raising the character of all its operative and trading classes.

How comes it then, let us ask, that having these facilities, for impressing a whole people with a salutary admiration of the talent and taste of those in advance upon them, and thereby of substituting urbanity of deportment for rudeness and incivility, refinement for grossness, and intellectual for sensual enjoyments, the operatives of this country have still to acquire an interest in the works of nature, a taste for the fine arts, and feelings of admiration for genius?

Because the priests and the *conservatives*, alike jealous of their influence over weak brains, and alike apprchensive of the effect which the new *spirit* of real knowledge, might produce upon the minds of those industrious classes whom they hold in mental thraldom, endeavour to perpetuate their power by refusing them all access to it : hence the closing of all repositories and exhibitions of England upon the only day on which laborious industry could visit them—hence the preposterous regulations by which even the few among them who could snatch an hour or two during the week for recreation or self improvement, have had their feelings deeply wounded by being refused admission.

Only let the experiment be tried, of OPENING TO THE PUBLIC GRATIS, ON SUNDAYS, * not only our Museums, but also our Zoological Gardens and National Galleries: all our cathedrals in town and country, all our exhibitions of the products of nature, art, and genius-only admit the people to our Panoramas, Cosmoramas, Dioramas, Colosseums, Readingrooms, and Libraries ; in short, to all our scientific institutions and repositories on that day, and ere long will be made manifest the truth of our assertion, viz. that, repeated impressions made on the people by their contact with the products of NATURE, and with the creations of human THOUGHT and science, possess, in the present day, far greater efficacy for raising, dignifying, and harmonizing the feelings of all classes, than monotonous pulpit repetitions of

^{*} No license should henceforth be obtainable for any public exhibition, without the clause, that on Sundays they shall be opened gratis to the people.

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stale morality, or degrading false notions of sectarian dogmatism ever did or ever will.*

The only restriction we would propose is one which will be found equally beneficial to the people, and to all public institutions; and it is this: Let no person whatsoever be admitted SINGLE on Sundays—no, not even children; it being our decided conviction, that while nothing can more effectually ensure, at every age, decorum and propriety of deportment, than the moral influence which the presence of one sex has over the other, when in public together: so nothing more enhances the pleasure derived from exhibitions, than an interchange of those pleasurable feelings of admiration and delight which they naturally produce.

* "Notwithstanding the great increase of religious sects of church and churchmen; notwithstanding the excessive rigour of our penal code, crime has not only not decreased, but has, on the contrary, increased in proportion to the increase of religious sects, and to the severity and consequent uncertainty of punishment.

"This, however, is but a secondary, though most influential cause. The antecedent facts to crime are want, poverty, ignorance, and the consequence is generally a demoralising course of prison discipline.

"Pulpit exhortations, and precepts—whips, fetters, and dungeons, or halters, axes, and transportation, are not, therefore. the most efficacious means for raising the morality of a nation, or preventing outrages against person and property; but in proportion as a people become well educated and comfortable, in SUCH RATIO will they become free from crime, happy, and, morally speaking, innocent."—East India Magazine. To enumerate the public and private advantages which so practical and simple an innovation, as the above stated departure from our stupid (though artful) Sabbath rule, implies—would be endless; suffice it to say, that a new taste would soon be generated and diffused—a new feeling of social common interest in the beautiful would be created—the beautiful would lead to good—and the true ends of civilization, by giving birth to, and encouraging the arts and sciences, as well as the re-action of the arts and sciences upon civilization, would be fulfilled, and more generally acknowledged:* whereas now, by your system of exclusion, you foster brutality in the heart of civilization.

Nothing can tend more than such radical alterations in our old customs and mystic usages to banish from society the coarseness of barbarism, and the vulgarity of ignorance.

Say not that the people are backward in expressing their wish to study, to enjoy, to acquire, and to communicate a knowledge of realities :—the annual increase of visitors to the collections of the Museum, Reading-rooms, &c., notwithstanding mystic restrictions which should no longer be allowed to disgrace our national institutions, is a proof to the contrary.

^{*} They should be ALL OPENED SIMULTANEOUSLY, in order to prevent any local inconvenience from the crowds eager to participate in the advantages they offer, by not having at once a wider range allowed.

as it shows itself afraid of those *self-wrought reforms* which should constitute its noblest pride.

But so long as the people of any country are made to believe that they must petition their rulers for more rational pleasures, and for more spiritual education, in the name of mystic personifications, or only on some of the old mystic forms: they never can be understood as petitioning in earnest and effectually, since they are enticed or induced by false training to demand new rights to satisfy their new WANTS.

Years.			To the Reading- rooms for study and research.						o view the collections.	Artists and Students to the Gallery of Sculpture for the purpose of study.			
1827				1,556		•		•					
1828				1,714			•	•					
1829				1,728					68,101	, Since 1818! 920			
1830				10,000					71,336	1,500			
1831				38,200					99,912	4,938			
1832				46,800					147,806	4,740			
1833		Ĩ		58,800					210,495	4,490			
1834	Ē	÷		70,266					237,366	5,645			
1835	1			73.466					289,104	6,081			
1836				93,360 !					388,157 !	7,052!			

The reverse is the case for visitors to the Print-room, where, generally speaking, little more than *idle curiosity* can be satisfied; engravers alone excepted.

In 1832							4,400.
1833							2,930.
1834							2,204.
	1						1,065!
1835		•	•	•	•		.,

The National Gallery at Adelaide-street, Lowther Arcade, is also daily attended by crowds of visitors anxious to obtain real information from experimental philosophy. The proprietors have shared (1836) a dividend of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Is not this an encouragement for the speculative to open more exhibitions of a similar kind?

through a medium which never was calculated but to feed and to lull ignorance, and was efficient only to gild and lighten the heavy fetters of a nearly gone-by mental slavery in mystic devotion. Such reasonable requests should merely be founded on the rights of intellectuality and justice, for the promotion of morals and civilization, the true ends of all ministers and governments.*

Besides, when all the people contribute by indirect taxation on food, to the maintenance of all public institutions, they have a natural right to participate in all the advantages such institutions are intended to bestow on society.

Whatever has been, or is to be accomplished with public money under a liberal government, is, to all intents and purposes, public property.

Lastly, so long as any old system of mystic regulations, tending originally to deceive any portion of the people, is allowed to remain in force as part of the law of the land—whilst the new systems of real and positive knowledge are denied to the people, in so far as they are not taught in our public or private schools—all the professions made in favour of a national education, purporting to *cultivate the intelligence and to promote the* true spiritual *progress of society*, are, we maintain, neither sincere nor practic-

• "The only conspiracy before which mystical despotism can ever fall, is that of virtuous minds who shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in all men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature."—DR. CHANNING. able; for—either the real and positive knowledge now centered in, and monopolised by, the royal and imperial societies of Europe is *bad*, *useless*, and *pernicious* ! or it is good, useful, and beneficial.

If the former: then should all royal and imperial governments be impeached by their people for continuing to patronize, encourage, and reward, that which is *bad*, useless, and pernicious.

If the latter: its diffusion and dissemination throughout the universities, colleges, and schools of the whole world, should, by means of steam and of railroads, immediately follow its discovery, as the test of its excellence; or, at least, each individual government should transmit it without any delay to every one of its public and private schools, be the heads of those universities and schools who they may!*

"Then would prejudice and its consequent evils be

* "Fain would I see my fellow creatures in pursuit of those truths which are around, and about, and within us; fain would I see them burying their sectarian opinions in their own bosoms, and unite for the study of facts, and a true knowledge of themselves.

"Many evils are abroad in the earth, and never did supineness in the rulers of men threaten greater dangers than at the present moment : old superstitions are shaken to their foundations, the false restraint imagined in ages of primeval ignorance are loosened from the mind; what then must ensue, if, while old things are passing away, we seek not to discover or adapt new ones? if, while the chains of superstition are falling from the mind, we build not therein a MENTAL and moral bulwark, nobly to replace the Gothic barriers that are withdrawn, nor apply ourselves to lead by understanding and conviction

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restrained, and find an effectual cure by men becoming induced to test the cause of their former antipathies-resolving to be governed by the voice of reason alone-by the pursuit of new practical truths, by the free and fearless prosecution of science, regardless of ancient or modern dogmatical differences. Their pernicious influence would thus be underminedunity become triumphant-clime, caste, and colour, a nonentity-sectarianism extinct-and every existing opinion would be respected as being the result of observation and reflection, scientific institutions being then based on universal justice, would prosper for the general good; and the pestiferous remnants of prejudice, superstition, and mystic despotism would soon be cruched by the weight of their own corruption, never again to rise.*

that nature which may be no longer cowed by superstition, nor mastered by force.

"Man is at this hour too knowing to obey blindfold, and yet too ignorant of himself and of nature to walk alone: let a liberal government look to it in time, nor be waiting till law and religion being alike under foot, they shall have to devise remedies in the midst of confusion, and to school the human mind and the human heart in the depth of their corruption.

"Enough has been said; the path lies clear—virtue and truth dwell only with reason and *real* knowledge; and as when a people shall possess *real* knowledge and clearer sense, they will form on all subjects just opinions, so will they also in all the relations of life, as citizen, parent, and fellow creature, discover and pursue a just practice."—See, *Francis Wright's Lectures* at New York.

* See Mr. Staples' Maiden Lecture at the Mechanics' Institution, Grosvenor Street, Millbank, on *Sunday* evening, May 1st, 1836.

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Then, would a new scientific life of knowledge in realities expand every brain, gradually improve the whole of the mental faculties, and reconcile philosophy with the true spirit of religion.

Then, indeed, might the people of all countries congratulate one another, and, actuated by the same delightful attractions of new, and positive convictions, simultaneously exclaim—" At last, we feel regenerated and freed from the debasing fetters of error and prejudice! for, we now know how to think and where to inquire, in order to be informed and enlightened."*

Then, indeed, would the physical sciences, freed from all restrictions, advance with giant strides: outstripping in their triumphant march, and leaving far behind, the withering forms of mysticism and the old scholastic learning; thousands of human brains, which are now clogged up by superstition, and purposely kept in ignorance of what their power would be if duly developed, would then awake from their torpor, and appreciate the real value of the new spirit for progressing, which nature time and thought have generated.

Then would the people understand how to apply all new machinery, to a truly legitimate purpose: that of being made to work in conjunction with nature for

* "By rational education we are, as it were, made over again —the roughness of our natural tempers is *filed* off, and all their defects supplied, and by prudent discipline, good example and kind advice, our manners are so formed, that, by the benefit of a happy education, we come almost as much to excel other men, as they do the brute beasts that have no understanding at all."—Dr. Calemay's Sermons. the benefit of social communities of industry, and thus enable at last the working classes to find leisure for mental recreation and pursuits, and through reflection, study, and observation, improve their social condition.

Then would the most interesting experiments be made simultaneously in every part of the world, and human thought, brooding at once all around the globe upon external nature—all people being in constant and rapid communication with each other would extort from her, more useful secrets in one year, than it could formerly during a whole century !

It is worse than mockery to tell to an ignorant people to "take their affairs into their own hands," and still shut them out of all sources of self improvement and of all civilizing exhibitions.

A change so decided, would soon convince the great majority of the people of the utter futility and worthlessness of all Sabbath Observance Bills *—and of the

• Sir Andrew Agnew is one of the most furious and violent Tories in the House of Commons; and is, we are glad to see, very likely to be ejected from his seat at the ensuing election. Being the chief leader of a society desirous to establish among Christians the Jewish law of the Sabbath, that body has issued an address against the Liberal members of various places, in order to assist the Tories under the pretence of advancing religion: an act of hypocrisy perfectly worthy of the Tories, and utterly disgusting to every moral and truly religious man.

"The Agnewites may find their predecessors in the canting preachers of the beginning of the 17th century. At that time it was preached in a market town in Oxfordshire, that it was as great a sin to do any kind of work on a Sunday as to commit murder! In Norfolk, that it was as sinful to make a feast on Sunday as to cut the throats of children! and that every one disgraceful ends proposed by the rancorous paper war now so hotly waged by hosts of malignant bigots, whether called orthodox or sectarian Dissenters.

The good effect of such a radical change would be also strikingly apparent in politics as well as in morals,

who did any kind of work on a Sunday ought to be put to death!—(see *Herlin*). These fanatics were the persons who, urging upon ignorant people the observance of the Jewish law, led to the interruption of the happy course of reform that was then in progress, and to that reign of infidelity and immorality that subsequently prevailed. They also told the people that external observances ought to be enforced by law, and mainly contributed to a long interruption of truly religious and civil liberty.

"We cannot understand how any members of the Church of England can support Sir Andrew Agnew or his friends. The Church of England calls the Sunday 'a FEAST DAY' in the calendar attached to the Book of Common Prayer.

"The Homilies of the Church of England say that we observe Sundays 'out of choice, after the example of Christian people, who begun this custom from the ascension of our Lord."

"The Rev. Dr. Heylin says, 'that the Church hath power to change the day.'

"In 1537, all the bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors, signed a declaration, afterwards published by Parliament, which states ' that Sunday is an institution established by the Church and that men may, on that day, save their corn and cattle.'

" Cranmer, the father of the English Church, held the same opinion.

"Tindal, the first almost of the English Reformed Divines, says, 'as for the Sabbath, we may change it into Monday or any other day we see need."

" Bishop Hopper says the same.

"Origen says, 'to the good man every day is the Lord's day."

" Latimer and Ridly, the martyrs of the English Church,

since it would tend far more than Sabbath restrictions and mystic instruction to prove to the electors how indispensable it is that they should choose for our representatives, individuals more mentally and more scientifically qualified than it has hitherto been deemed expedient they should be, for a false and too partial system of politics-for, it is from SCIENCE ALONE that a nation's representatives can be made to feel and to comprehend the urgent necessity of commencing all reforms, civil or religious, by first improving the habits, and exalting the feelings of all the people, who, no longer doomed to vegetate in profound ignorance of their own mental capacity, must have the means afforded them of obtaining, together with real knowledge and rational amusement, that urbanity of manners, that polite deportment, and that refinement of sensibility, which nothing can sooner or more easily generate than a familiar intercourse with the productions of nature and of genius, which being collected at the public expense, might well be exhibited to the

also express the same sentiments, as well as Archbishop Cranmer, and Archbishop Whateley.

"We, and all these divines, insist upon the observance of a seventh day of recreation. But it is our duty not to misrepresent the truth. The Jewish Law, and the Jewish Sabbath, is at an end. The ceremonial law has ceased. We are all of us called upon to connect religion with the great purposes of our existence, as well as with our future welfare, and this we shall not do if we do not encourage good acts in a happy and cheerful temper, and check, as far as we can, that moroseness of spirit which would make that compulsory, which is only meritorious when it springs as a free-will offering."—Bath Guar. July 1837. public at half price every Sunday in the various repositories of the arts and sciences.*

No fear need be entertained about the coursest among *the most neglected*, brutally forcing their way for admission (unless *hired* for the *purpose* by some revengeful and ferocious *priests*.)

For, as we have endeavoured to shew, the human animal must have been tamed and soothed by the force of superstition, and must have obtained some degree of comfort—some leisure for reflection—before it can be made to feel mental wants, and become modified into an intellectual and considerate being.

* " Persons who are incessantly engaged in business, and who have no leisure to cultivate their taste, can form but a faint notion of the captivating influence which is exercised upon the mind by the grace of sculpture and the creation of the pencil-nor by those whose imaginative faculties have not been exercised is it commonly understood how very important to the formation of a RATIONAL being, is the repeated and familiar appreciation of the productions of nature and genius : how valuable these are in a commercial point of view, is well known to many unenlightened dealers in pictures ; to booksellers who never readand to publishers without taste-even still more precious is their silent and gradual influence on the moral character. A mind long fixed upon the beautiful as a principle of nature, or upon the sublime as the pinnacle of the moral sentiment, must acquire a character in accordance with the visible objects of its veneration.

"Constant admiration of what is really great and good, cannot but be more or less conducive to the formation of a great and good mind—and as Sismondi says, "*Le premier* pas dans le premier *des beaux arts, dut conduire a la morale.*"

From Carpenter's London Journal.

When, in the progress of time, the liberal legislators of Europe shall become strong enough, for each openly to resist at home, the cruel and unjust pretensions of Papal, or Episcopal priestcraft, and wise enough to promote and carry into effect, without the least timorousness or disguise, (just as if no mystic influence had ever existed) all useful reforms in education : actually encouraging NOTHING but a knowledge of REALITIES in all institutions having for object the emancipation of mind, and the welfare of the people; they would then gradually establish, by easy, rational, and equitable means, a system deservedly entitled to the name of spiritual peace, or INTELLECTUAL SOCIABILITY-not merely among individuals forming the same community, but also among all nations, equally advanced in mental culture and civilization; for, the true end of all rulers and ministers must be sooner or later to promote a general rectitude of conduct BY MEANS OF CLEARER SCENE. BY ENOBLING THE MORAL SCALE, BY RAIS-ING ALL MEN IN THEIR OWN ESTIMATION.

Now, unprejudiced observers and sincere reformers know full well that EDUCATION IN ALL THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES are means to this end, by its power of *developing our perceptive and reflective faculties*, which a mere religious faith in mysteries has never yet accomplished.

But this rational and humane object is neither to be promoted by increasing the number of churches, to diffuse more of that old instruction, purely mystic; nor by *getting up* Oxonian controversies, than which

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nothing can be further from the avowed purpose that of the real education of the people, for which public money has often been voted;—since these architectural *folds*, *for human cattle*, do but enlarge still more the circle of the mystic shepherd's means of retarding the new and liberal cultivation of progressive intelligence.

Far from this, the spirit of the age requires that all clerical mystic influence to enforce a mysterious instruction should lose the power of interfering with any system of national EDUCATION IN REALITIES, until they acknowledge the latter's present superiority over the former, and preach accordingly.

Nor can sociability be promoted in the least by building more and more poor-houses for the purpose, first, of separating the sexes, and then of collecting and localizing part of the indigent and ignorant population.

These paliatives are but vain attempts to prop up a crazy anti-social—anti-spiritual system,* nearly rotten to the core; because in total discordance with the organic WANTS of sensitive human nature, at this period of ample means to diffuse natural knowledge —when it is but too well known that a pretended or forced, immoral celibacy, leads to social evils, and no longer, as once believed, to the clergy's mystic heavens. Localize the indigent poor, if you will, but give them with education, also land and machinery for common

[•] See " English Charities," attributed to Sir F. Head. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1835.

labour, so as to meet their natural WANTS, and that intellectual justice may follow parliamentary charity.*

The new MEDIATING POWERS, which are the natural result of TIME, THOUGHT, and GENIUS, being in accordance with the law of continued mental progress, are, of course, more or less annoying and offensive to the *would-be stationary* interests and anomalies of this age, and are consequently more or less obstructed by them.

But as the principle of GENERAL UTILITY in social duties, is a law of human civilised society paramount to all those of individual rights, the new and progressing powers in harmony with THOUGHT and SCIENCE must, sooner or later, be brought into action: nor will they, when they do come, be fastidious as to the means by which their influence may be rendered effective.

In cases of emergency, peremptory ORDERS IN COUNCIL might with great advantage supersede the tedious and interminable debates carried on under a contracted liberty of speech, which, stultified by FORMS of oaths, and void of the true *spirit* of progress, is therefore totally ignorant of the changeable condition of human nature, and most averse from being ruled by precedents, as must ever be the case with an ORGANISED SENSITIVE SUBSTANCE, susceptible of progressive WANTS for forwarding civilization by mental perfectibility.

^{*} See Report of the Chaplain of Bedford Gaol to his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, assembled at the general Quarter Sessions, holden at Bedford, on the 4th of April, 1837.

The only effect of more and more mystic churches and of more and more poor houses must be to widen still further the *moral* crater opened in the bosom of human society. Between monopoly and selfishness on one side:—ignorance, and superstition, on the other; through the force of exclusive habits, and through the blind infatuations of the *learned or divine* prejudices of those who will not see in the signs of the times, that—

OLD and STATIONARY articles of faith !

Old PSYCHOLOGY as the basis of instruction !

Old DOGMATICAL forms in all churches!

Old ESTABLISHED EPISCOCRACY in each dio cese, still arbitrary and absolute !

Old ROMAN CATHOLIC INFALLIBILTY now claimed, without a blush, for Protestant Universities !

Old FEUDALTY IN THE LANDED INTEREST !

Old HEREDITARY LEGISLATION IN THE LORDS!

GRINDING MONOPOLY in a contracted and limited currency *purely financial* for the too partial advantage of bankers and accumulating capitalists !

UNNATURAL and cruel RESTRICTIONS in the QUANTITY of FOOD by partial laws and regulations. *

^{* &}quot;Whilst the present system, if such it may be called, imposes care on the rich, excessive anxiety on the middle class, and desperation on the poor—whilst the powerful are thus, as it were, fated to oppress; the strivers after power to circumvent and counteract, and the powerless to injure; it seems only reasonable that some section, at least, of this warring population (of England) should make tridl of the peaceful principles which ARE WORKING SUCCESSIVELY elsewhere." (See Miss H. Martineau's reflections on the Communities of the United States.)

And INSIDIOUS RESTRICTIONS in useful KNOW-LEDGE, by taxes, in the diffusion of political and commercial news—however well adapted for the gone-by days of ruling over the credulity of ignorance through its fears and delusions, are nevertheless each, and all, in contradiction with the rapid strides which NATU-RAL PHILOSOPHY, as well as a TRUE KNOWLEDGE of MAN, is making throughout the civilized world, and are therefore NOW TOTALLY INCOMPATIBLE:—

With the diffusion of the progressive sciences of Geology, Physiology, and Organic Chemistry!

With the new REVELATION of PHRENOLOGY !

With the increasing thirst for positive REAL KNOW-LEDGE, in a true spirit of unshackled inquiry.

With the growing spirit of universal toleration.

With new and increasing means of observation and research into all things and feelings, by those who know how to observe, and who no longer will, nor can be deceived by mysticism.

With a progressive increase of PAUPER POPULA-TION through a great reduction of the necessity for manual labour.

With the constitutional right of legislative representation, under increasing freedom of election.

With increasing facilities in manufacture and products, by NEW MACHINERY AND POWER LOOMS.

With new and increasing rapidity of communication by STEAM and RAILROADS!

And, finally, with the modern principle of a FREE PRESS FOR ALL,—although still limited to those only, who can afford the paper and stamp duties.

These old mystic forms, established customs, political and clerical rules, have now become, by the powerful influence of time, thought, and modern science, so many isolated and unconnected social anomalies, in total discordance with the period of civil and mental progressiveness, which a great portion of society has now reached; and they must openly continue to defy social harmony, general utility, and spiritual peace, *

Unless the "VOLUNTARY SYSTEM" be allowed to establish itself in all matters of religious faith, in superstition and mystic worship, a rational system of education being, at the same time, made imperative;

Unless a new basis for education be allowed to regulate the increase of ideas, and guide the expansion of THOUGHT in the spirit of real knowledge and of progressive religion;

* "Witness the existing most unnatural alliance of positive knowledge with poverty, and the equally unnatural alliance of ignorance and rank. We have enlightened mechanics with benighted peers; labourers who can reason, and lords who cannot; laymen who can preach their *own* sermons, and clergymen who can only read those written by *others*. We have philosophers among our people, and bigots in our church; subjects who cry—forward ! and governments who wish to halt. This disjointed state of things surely cannot last for ever."

We contend that no mystic mediation good for the passed ages of profound ignorance, can possibly continue to be good for and to exercise a beneficial influence over populations that are to benefit by, and to enjoy the general diffusion of real knowledge through INTELLECTUAL FOOD. Unless the legislators of Europe take into their serious consideration the necessary modification property must sooner or later undergo, where the spirit of the age no longer allows human beings to constitute an important feature of its principle, as they originally did;

Unless priestcraft and mysticism be for ever excluded from the House of Lords ;

Unless the principle of election be extended to the Upper House, or peers for life elected by the Commons, as a reward only for meritorious public services;

Unless a full and complete liberty of trade in food and necessary products be proclaimed, in order that the people may avail themselves of, and be really benefitted by, the new means of intercourse between all nations;

Unless, in fine, a system of currency for productive industry be gradually established, on a totally new principle of *issue*; which, regulating its expansion and contraction by the increase or decrease of national products, would at all times form an adequate and sound circulating medium.

HOW TO PROMOTE EDUCATION IN REAL KNOWLEDGE.

At a time when the very word "university" should be sent "to the tomb of all the Capulets," mental or civil regeneration cannot be promoted by founding more of such establishments, they

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must all (and that speedily) be reformed and transformed.

Separated, as the institution lately founded in this metropolis, under the name of "London University," has been—by the happy contrivance of Lord Brougham—from all superstition (the original basis of its ancient prototypes), it stands actually upon no other foundation than the unsteady expedient of a *juste milieu* system of education utterly incapable of forming the independent and really enlightened characters now so much required for mental reform in the training and tuition of youth; * yet it is, perhaps, as good a " beginning" as the times would allow, and for this the nation owes gratitude to his Lordship, *spite* of the new source of superstition introduced in the Discourse of NATURAL THEOLOGY.

But in order to have ensured a firm basis for new and liberal schools, from which psychology and mystic ethics might be excluded, and the *real sciences* alone be taught—original and powerful feelings, *radically* opposed to all superstitious creeds, should have been generated.

This is a desideratum which may, however, yet be accomplished.

Why not have made a bold and decided appeal

* What must we think of the philosophy of an assemblage of students in anatomy, for instance, when a gentleman requests of them "not to forget the '*immaterial man*' when they cut up the natural one !" Is not this sending their God a begging ? to the intelligence of Europe? to the heads of all schools? if not answered—to the teachers under them —and finally, to the students themselves?

The youths of Europe—convulsed as she now is by the last struggles of expiring *blind faith*, and by the confused ideas of men raised to power principally through the mystic influence of *that* faith—would have responded to the call as with one voice! for, the invisible ascendancy of human intelligence over old ethics, orthodoxy, psychology, and the metaphysics of the old school, is now more or less felt and acknowledged by all the reflecting brains of the civilized world.

" REAL EDUCATION IS THE FULCRUM ON WHICH MAINLY DEPENDS THE WELFARE OF MANKIND."

"Education is not a simple term. It has a twofold meaning—it may be considered by some as totally unconnected with the forms of religion," or as being of the very same *spirit,* a progressive continuation* of all the different systems of religious instructions: this last view is our conviction, because real knowledge appears under the very same aspect, and with the very same influence, in presence of all the mystic worships of the world; INTELLECTUALITY, therefore, must be viewed as the only SPIRITUAL

^{*} Read, on this subject, the admirable Sermon preached by Dr. Stanley, on his instalment as Bishop of Norwich, August 17, 1837.

PEACE-MAKER between all religious and sectarian antipathies.

To hesitate between the two (mystic forms, and intellectuality), is but to torture the brain by prolonging the gnawing pangs of long and fondly cherished instinctive feelings, now repeatedly assailed by an increasing succession of new WANTS in the brain, and of new REVELATIONS by science.

The time is then arrived when prytania * for the people of ALL CLASSES! and of ALL NATIONS! should be erected upon a plan entirely new, and having by way of motto or inscription over their entrance doors some such sentences as these :—

AVAUNT ! ALL MYSTIC EMBLEMS and SYMBO-LICAL forms of WORSHIP !---good only to feed our animal instincts !

HENCE all SUPERSTITION and PRIESTCRAFT! for, observation and experience are now the best interpreters of OMNIPOTENCE!

TIME, and the practical KNOWLEDGE it has re-

* The mechanics' institutions have certainly been a step onwards—no doubt, that they have done a little to satisfy the wish and to increase the pleasure of knowing more; yet, by the same fatality which corrodes here every useful mental undertaking, the spirit of inquiry within these institutions has been modified, limited, and controlled by some clerical influence; to become in reality the thing wanted, they should be ten times more spread—they should be opened gratis to the public every Sunday, morning and evening, as so many new SANCTUARIES OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE—where truly RELI-GIOUS, unsophisticated knowledge sooner might be acquired, than in any mystic temples.

vealed, commands all mystic forms to give place to the real SPIRIT of the physical sciences now MEDIATING as a progressive and more useful religion for all mankind than any mystic MEDIATORS can ever become!

Mystic churches may still go on condemning what it is not given them to understand, but their capacity to sanction progress has long since departed from them, never to return.*

The spirit of true knowledge is continually stimulating the keen appetite of skill and industry for better labour regulations, and for more positive information on the extraordinary revelations of geology, chemistry, physiology, and phrenology—and that SPIRIT is sanctioned by the real powers of NATURE AS NOW KNOWN! and by HUMAN THOUGHT AS NOW FREE!

Nothing, be assured—nothing short of this is required in the present day, for, as in politics, the "juste milieu" statu-quo system is high treason against both the natural rights of society and the obsolete hereditary claims of unthroned legitimacy,

^{*} Truly said Lord Morpeth—" I do not seek to dissemble my opinion, that, if we annually repeat the experiment of adjusting and regulating the 'Established Church,' without bringing our efforts to any practical result, the time will come (*if* even this be not the last) when THE OBJECT OF OUR CONFLICT WILL BE EXTINGUISHED; and that when we have marshalled our opposing forces, we shall discover ourselves pressing upon a lifeless corse and untenanted armour."—(From the Examiner, September 10, 1837.)

250 BLIND FAITH, OR MENTAL CONVICTIONS.

so in education, a "*juste milieu*" *statu quo* system amounts to high treason against both the natural rights of reason, and the obsolete claims of episcopal theocracy.

And we are justified in this charge of cruel treason against such a system, because in each case it furnishes apparent grounds for hopes which, although (apparently) far from being realized, are nevertheless a constant source of calumny on one side mental revolt, inquietude, and civil perturbation on the other.

Be then bold, definite, and resolute, in all the reforms acknowledged and felt to be necessary for diffusing real education, and raise all the people in their own estimation.*

Declare at once to the world, that, while TIME has proved all the boasted mystic learning of our Universities to be nought but the stale repetition of unmeaning dogmas, having no power to promote the further advance of civilization : the positive and progressive knowledge of the realities of nature, must, on the contrary, lead mankind at large, to rely fearlessly on the omnipotence of human THOUGHT for all purposes of social duties in general comfort and happiness.

> "An end like this To gain by enlighten'd policy, would crown The legislator with a wreath unworn By modern sage or old; and this to gain No deep investigation needs, no search

* "Self esteem is one of the first, if not the principal condition, for happiness."—M. Duclos. Into the venerable musty rolls Of antienty, to find what methods raised Athens and Rome to their meridian height Of glory !"

Cease, then, to ransack the depositories, whether at home or abroad, of ancient and worm-eaten records, for they cannot furnish much, beyond some damnable proofs of insane credulity, blind fanaticism, and tyrannical persecutions, inflicted by mitred idiotism or by sceptered bigotry against the successive revelations of TIME and THOUGHT.

It is in the earth, the waters, and the visible heavens—it is in the organic world, in the elements of nature's secret powers, and above all in the HUMAN BRAIN,* that inquiry and research must now be encouraged.

It is to these objects that must henceforth be directed the combined and unremitting efforts of thousands of national students educated to forward—(not retard)—the mental progress; and trained so as to become happy devotees (not sulky opposers) of the universal mental movement which reason has at last acknowledged, and society feels compelled to follow.

No-man-slave and ignorant shall not continue to be explored by man-mystic, but MAN made equal to MAN in intellectual culture, shall explore the universe for the advance of civilization, and the mundane happiness of mankind.

Suffer not, therefore, your instruction to be

* " Phrenology shall become the science of all sciences." -DR. PERRAUDIN.

252 QUALIFICATIONS FOR A NEW BOARD

clogged, fettered, and curtailed by old University regulations; endeavour not any longer to smuggle old Cantab and Oxonian absurd exclusiveness into modern society, now craving for rationalism through the mental regeneration of all the people!

Let all those who can shew talent and capacity at your examination board, obtain the reward and promotion due to their mental exertions, wherever they may have been born, bred, or educated !*

* "The Examiners of the two London Colleges are vested with authority to admit, at *their own discretion*, the pupils of other establishments, *provided* they partake of the College form and character! Why should not the path be open for every man of scientific literary attainment, to the possession of scientific and literary honours? The *old* Universities have determined that B.A. shall not only designate a Bachelor of Arts, but a Believer of Articles. They gauge talent with the theological stick. The Dissenters are to have their relief in this new institution. That is all very well, so far as they are concerned, if they be satisfied therewith.

"But the country has a deeper stake in this question than the Dissenter. The Universities are public institutions. The time is come for claiming their advantages for the public benefit. They are properly and rightfully national; and not the patrimony of bigotry or aristocracy. They ought to be made far more accessible in their advantages, as well as entirely open and impartial in their honours. Meanwhile, in the mitigation of one monopoly, do not let us be setting up another.

"The exclusiveness of the old system is not best corrected by a new system of exclusiveness. The line of limitation is drawn by the hand of bigotry in the one case: by that of monopoly in the other. This is persecuting; that is capricious. Both are exclusive, partial, unjust, and pernicious.

"Why should not the self-educated (and such there ever are, and their number is rapidly increasing) be allowed to compete Let some new plan be devised, and zealously executed, both in towns and counties, for *expanding* THOUGHT by real information into the powers of nature, through a system of education which shall be adequate in matter and method to its object.

Since boards and commissioners are the "order of the day," when shall we have a CENTRAL board or a department of EDUCATION in realities—before whom all teachers shall be examined as to their mental capacity and independence of thought?

Nothing short of mystic persecution by, or even actual expulsion from, the Universities, on account of a manly, conscientious, and uncompromising hostility to superstition and hypocrisy, *should be the qualification for the chairman of such a board*; while the eligibility of the commissioners should mainly depend upon their possessing such a quantum of good common sense, philosophy, liberality, and true spirit of inquiry, as would infallibly ensure their excommunication by "holy mother church," under whose

with the regularly trained, for the honours of those departments of science, wherein few can compete with them in knowledge! What is gained by debarring them? Does it promote science? No.—Does it stimulate the diligence of the favoured professors? No.—Does it encourage the aspiring efforts of poor and unfriended votaries of knowledge? No.—Does it serve the country, and elevate science, mind, and humanity? No, no, no,—It is just another bit of that absurd and everlasting exclusiveness; that tendency to convert every thing into property and monopoly; that inconsistent creation of one distinction in the very act of breaking down another, which is the besetting sin of our countrymen."—F.

254 BEGIN BY THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH,

mystic wings none are yet allowed to nestle but your blindly conforming, stationary, and camel-swallowing dunces.

Then shall you be enabled to throw a charm over school and college life, by allowing it to enjoy all that satisfaction and sensible delight with which natural philosophy never fails to reward her votaries.

Let then your schools and colleges for the instruction of youth be united to your institutions for the sciences and useful arts, whether agricultural, astronomical, geological, zoological, anatomical, physiological, medical, political, mechanical or commercial; and thus uniting all knowledge into one science, form a truly religious useful education; for, —ALL is in ALL—nothing stands alone.

What is there indeed more interesting and more useful to all our youths than the being made familiar with the noble and positive science of chemistry, and the becoming acquainted with its innumerable applications ?*

* "That science (chemistry) is a most attractive study for children; it is well adapted to the impressive dispositions of youth; it may be termed an *instructive amusement*; and is now reduced to mathematial precision. Whoever is compelled to remain ignorant of the laws of chemical unions, and of the properties resulting from such unions, can form no correct idea of the *antecedent* and *subsequent* FACTS, nor of the phenomena of nature, by which he is surrounded; nor even of the substance of which he is himself formed. Shall then ignorance and infatuation never yield to science and experience? shall man rest eternally contented in pretending to explain every thing by an imaginary unknown cause? by merely saying that all creation is the *work* of an immense intelligent Being." —(See Revolution of Philosophy, by R. Watley, Manchester.) Let them be allowed to understand the intelligence, —nay, the "mentalism" of the vegetable world—the immortality of matter—the natural history of all mystic religions;—let them be made to comprehend the true antecedent facts to all creeds: the organs of ideality, wonder, and veneration,—organs so very plastic in youth as to be easily impressed with the most vulgar errors, when the nobler powers of THOUGHT are not called into early exercise by the study of nature's laws through physical demonstration.*

Exhort them, not to give a hasty assent to any thing they may hear, but on the contrary, to let their conviction be the result of repeated observations, calm investigation, and strict comparison. Conduct them step by step from what is physically known of the most probable origin of all things to the best information we at present possess through natural philosophy and the careful registering of facts.

Begin by mineralogy, geology; by the history of the earth before man's appearance thereon; + make

* "Nothing cannot be said to keep its hold in the mind, be it as it may with space,—nature endures no vacuum in minds: the mind is a *field*, in which so sure as man sows not *wheat*, as sure will the *Devil of Superstition* be, to sow tares."—BENTHAM.

+ "The Constitution of this world does not look like a system of optimism. It appears to be arranged in all its departments on the principle of slow and progressive improvement. Physical nature itself has undergone many revolutions, and apparently has constantly advanced. Geology seems to show a distinct preparation of it for successive orders of living beings, rising higher and higher in the scale of intelligence and organization, until the animal man was generated. Five successive

them acquainted with all substances in the same order in which they were successively generated in nature, and conclude with the tottering selfish politics, and *contending* psychological *systems* of occult knowledge, still called indiscriminately "*true religions*:" although assailed as they are by new theoretical systems of social organization and spiritual reforms, which however they may be deemed impracticable by the besotted ignorance of mere classical and clerical training, appear admirably adapted to the new and imperious WANTS of the more enlightened coming generations.

To think of reforming our schools without reforming also our faith in worship, is next to impossible; because faith in worships was the very first of all schools, and hence, the very first thing to be reformed.

Let nature in all her minuteness and all her immensity—from the delicate infusoria to the stupendous orbs which revolve in boundless space, be laid open to the view of all classes, by means of the most powerful instruments which the optician's skill can produce.

Nothing, be assured, will tend more than this to

races of animals appear to have existed and to have been swept away, by the physical revolutions of the globe. In none of the formations, whether secondary, tertiary, or diluvial, have human fossil remains been discovered. At last man appeared, and since that period there has been little alteration in the physical circumstances of the globe."—From "REES' LONDON and DUBLIN JOURNAL," the best of the cheap periodicals ever published—but most assuredly, too early in the field of prejudice to obtain all the success it so fully deserves. form their character to *expand their nascent thought*, and direct it to objects calculated to dignify and ennoble it.

Above all, be as cautious of concealing any portion of what is now known to be *positively true* ! as of teaching for TRUTH any portion of what is now known to be *positively false* !

Define the word "God" as expressing, not a personified cause, separate and distinct from nature-not the mechanical maker of a beginning-not a "supernatural judge and governor" living "beyond" the universe; nor as an "immense Being, all mind," "independant of us!" these suppositions, assumed to be realities, are as absurd as they are pusillanimous: rather define it as expressing the unity or compound of all things-the whole of what is known or unknown-though always, and most singularly used by the mystics, to express the unknown only, instead of the universe itself acting ALL in ALL-according to (so far as we now know) the natural process of gradual and constant changes through electrical action-by assimilation or adaptation, whether termed material, mental, or moral, (as bad custom and old languages will still have it) for, all feelings, all affections of the brain, all sentiments are fully as much physical modifications by adaptation, as those by which the functions of any other parts of our body are maintained. Say what the REASON of this age dictates, and define God : a want of human organization, which every man has now a natural wish to satisfy. as best suits his feelings and mental happiness.

Spare no illustrations of the most positive relations and properties of matter and motion.*

Impress on the mind of youth this fact, which it is important all people should now know, *i. e.*, that all the different modifications existing among mankind proceed much more from the different qualities of food, circumstances, climate, and degrees of real knowledge which they can assimilate, or adapt to their organization, than they do, from the accidental local differences in mystified right and wrong, by which youths are trained to regulate differently their conduct and sense of social duties regarding morality, and virtue, industry, ambition, or glory.

Avoid, by all means, ever mentioning, in the presence of youth, the obsolete terms of "materialism" and "spiritualism," for, by so doing, you will plunge them into the endless labyrinth of unfathomable meta-

* "As soon as the mind becomes accustomed to contemplate, not *things* only, but likewise the *relation of things*, there is immediate need of some path or way of transit from one to the other of the things related : there must be some law of agreement between them : in short, there must be method. We may, therefore, assert that the *relations of things* form the prime object, or so to speak, the *materials of method*, and that the contemplation of those relations is the indispensable condition of thinking methodically and rationally.

"So long as the mind is merely passive—so long as there is an habitual submission of the understanding to mere events, images, names, and ceremonics, there may be sensations, but there cannot be THOUGHT—there may be transition, but there can never be MENTAL PROGRESS."

COLERIDGE-Discourse on Method.

physics. Should you be asked, however, what these words *once meant*, you may define the former as expressing a supposed system of thought by *every thing* but by the nervous system! and the latter, as having been once used by ignorance to express the functions of our nervous system; the progressive sensitiveness of which, old spiritualism excluded from human organisation.*

Be cautious, also, about teaching youth how to reason *a priori* and *a posteriori*; for, although these words denominate two modes of argument, established by logicians, in contradistinction to each other, for talk's-sake—we have no faith in either. What can be the meaning of "from the cause to the effect," when the cause includes the effect? And what can "from the effect to the cause" mean? when, in starting, that cause is always pre-supposed. Is it not attempting to mystify intellectuality itself! †

Tell our children, at the conclusion of each course,

* Should further clucidation be required, see p. 98 to 111 of the New SANCTUARY.

 \dagger "A priori begins with the cause, and leads to the effect. A posteriori begins with the effect, and leads to the cause—so say the Logicians. But we say, the cause includes the effect, and the effect pre-supposes the cause: so that we begin with both if we begin with either. When the human brain begins to reason, it diverts its attention to something material, or holding a relation to solid matter. We cannot think of immaterialities, unless as relative to matter. Time is an immateriality, but it is by material motion or succession of ideas of material sensation that we have an idea of time. In fine, solid matter and spirit or motion are inseparable, and it is folly to talk of their separate

260 EDUCATE YOUTH AS INTELLECTUAL,

that you can do no more than impart to them the little that is yet known of each branch of the positive sciences, but that as they are to succeed and replace us, it is in their power, as intelligent perfectible beings, to discover still more of the unknown, so that our consequents may become their antecedents; that it is their duty to exert themselves as members of a progressive intellectual society for the greater diffusion, and the better application of what is already known, to the mental happiness and bodily comforts of all their fellow beings while alive on earth.*

When lecturing upon that UNIVERSAL FACT of the *rc-ligious feeling*, on the different systems of superstition called *creeds—dogmas of faith*, or "*religions*," founded on mysteries and miracles, whose utter incompatibility with each other's *forms* and *words*, has divided mankind by sectarian hatred, and persecution—let your subject be represented as nothing more than what it actually is, viz.: an introductory chapter to the scientific, civil, and political history of human societies, compelled by organic animal instincts to follow such temporary rules as were necessary to facilitate the "*begining*" of mental progressive-

existence. Matter without spirit or motion is vulgar, because unmeaning, and has been termed Atheism. Spirit or motion without matter, is equally vulgar and unintelligible, and has been termed Spiritualism."

* "It is the duty of every one to diffuse the ideas and convictions, he believes no one entertains; and the more so, when they are by their nature interesting to all mankind."—*Physiological Psychology*, by M. CHARDEL.

ness, ere time and experience had brought and diffused such correct observations of man and of nature, as would dispel imaginary fears, extinguish delusive hopes, inspire intellectual convictions, and impress the brain with a sense of moral dignity and conscious rectitude, founded on the experience derived from a knowledge of realities.*

When RELIGIOUS TOLERATION becomes your subject, let it be considered as one of those symptoms of political improvement brought forth by the increasing power of human THOUGHT, the natural result of mental progress—and to which the rulers of mankind, listening rather to their fears, than obeying the dictates of intellectual justice, have been forced to assent.

Religious toleration marks the dawn of a more liberal feeling between the governing and the governed, than was ever before manifested among mankind; the indirect influence of which, upon the *forms* of religion, the spirit of education, the human chaacter, and the system of politics, has too long been overlooked by short-sighted rulers and moralists.

It was in consequence of the right bestowed, by this new and liberal feeling (toleration)—the right of openly entertaining doubts respecting the authenticity of instinctive visions which ignorance had so long mistaken for facts—that rulers no longer dared to force their religious notions as so many "eternal truths" on the consciences of the people.

^{*} Sec Religions, page 167 to 170, Part III.

Thus was at last loudly, though indirectly proclaimed: an actual impairing of the would-be, thoughtto-be, eternal blind faith of ignorance in the symbols of mysteries and in the records of miracles.

Lastly, never argue *positively* with your pupils upon mere assumptions; nor affirm THAT TO BE TRUE, about which you know actually nothing.

Teach them, in short, to analize and to understand all their own feelings, and how to satisfy all their mental and physical wants without offence or injury to each other.*

You must not, however, expect to succeed easily in your reforming either education or faith in the church, if you hastily determine upon reducing the income or livings of those old ecclesiastical despots —the priesthood of any mystic sect—as is now the case for Protestant Episcopacy in Ireland, for it is conjuring up the storm by abstracting the very *heart's blood* of their sectarian *faith*.

In emancipating the brain from the withering influence of its former mystic masters, the latter are certainly entitled, in justice and equity, to receive a full compensation for life.

• "For though we Christians do constantly aspire and paut after the 'land of promise,' yet it will be a token of God's favour towards us in our journeying through the world's wilderness, to have our shoes and garments (I mean those of our frail bodies) little worse or impaired."—BACON. The Philosophy of Living, by Herbert Mayo, F.R.S., and J. W. Parker, West Strand. Instead, therefore, of threatening to curtail, even in the smallest amount, the incomes of the priesthood of the day, let a new emancipation loan be raised to secure them their stipends.

Have not loans been made to the *tune* of one thousand millions to excite mankind to wholesale slaughter! in *defence of church and state oligarchies*? Has not a loan of twenty millions lately been voted to emancipate from slavery all our negro population? Shall then no money be found to redeem our white population from mental bondage? Shall no one move for a central board of education, authorized by government to make loans for the mental training of British youth?

One and all must, however, be made to understand, in the most unequivocal manner, that the whole will be forfeited from the moment they should again presume to perpetuate prejudice in the minds of the rising generation through the instrumentality of credulous ignorance or instinctive superstition, by opposing the new plans of a liberal and positive education in realities which, being free from mysticism, can wholly dispense with their assistance.

Foreigners seem indeed to understand this far better than we do, and they have long since put it into practice—hence their great advance upon us in expansion of THOUGHT.*

* Frederick the Great, dared to rescue the child from the ignorance of the parent, and insisted that he should extend his

Let the only passport to literary rank or honour be a decided superiority (whether theoretical or practical)—in the positive physical sciences, and the antiquated piles of Oxford and Cambridge, condemned by the nascent active spirit of the AGE OF REALITY now begun, will be left to crumble in merited oblivion.

From the moment her haughty and *mistaken* prelates have recourse to the infallibility of Romanism, to the obsolete, absurd harangues of old fanaticism —to disgusting cant, and to pecuniary subscriptions to prolong, if possible, her death-struggles—symbolical religion is on the wane.*

protection to mind. In Prussia, the law requires that every town and commune should, by a *local tax leviable on individuals possessing a certain income, annually raise sufficient funds to provide for the salaries of lay schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and for the* BUILDING and REPAIRING of SCHOOL-HOUSES, and that this provision shall be made in accordance with the number of the inhabitants of the town or parish. Those who now refuse *church rates* will readily pay EDUCATION RATES.— (From John Strange's Germany in 1831.)

* The Rev. Parson Hooper, in a letter to the *Standard*, as an argument supporting the CHURCH and STATE UNION, urges that nobody now-a-days goes to church.

This is a species of argument *ex inverso*, which parsons only can understand.

"Look," says he, " at our cathedrals, where there is service every morning and evening, and where an old man or woman, with the *choir establishment* forms the congregation.

"Look into our churches, when Lent Service, Saint-days, and Wednesday and Friday prayers are read, and you will find one or two old women *are the only persons*, *year after year*, that attend.

[.]

It is true, the hierarchy and its altars still stand, but the moral influence of their mystic power resting now on the *obliquity of unlimited toleration*, and on the wavering feelings of a people daily made more intelligent, more positively knowing, and therefore *less credulous*, is fast declining.

There is not the least doubt that, for the satisfaction and consolation of those whose timidity of mind requires them still to continue strong and purely instinctive believers in the worship of unintelligibi-

"Even in the most popular churches in London—St. James's, for instance, and St. George's—the congregations of Sunday consist more of the nobility from other parishes than of the tradesmen and mechanics...... Surely, if the ecclesiastical commissioners were seriously impressed with the necessity of supporting our religious establishment, they would put to silence the ignorance of foolish men by compelling every individual to support the church as well as the state to endeavour to preserve it to the utmost of his powers."

We, of course, agree with the Rev. Parson, that all those who WANT the church, should support it—but we shall never agree with him, that ALL should be compelled to pay for what he admits, a very small number still continue to WANT; he contends, the *fewer* those who want the church the greater its necessity: we do not understand his process of reasoning; however, we thank the Rev. Mr. Hooper for his fac s; they are useful for instead of shewing the necessity of any government supporting any longer the power of parsons and priests, they prove conclusively that it is now the duty of all governments to substitute real KNOWLEDGE for priestcraft, and clearer sense for *ignorance*; for if the church party be suffered to prevail, the public cause of real education and of useful science must be defeated.

The " Radical," April 3, 1836.

266 OF THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

lity, it must very soon modify itself into what is termed the VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.*

Something must, at the same time, be done for so

* Evident symptoms of the voluntary system have already been published under the head "Separation between Church and State," even on the principle of the old mediation :—

- 1. "That Jesus Christ is the sole rightful head of all the churches of England, and that the King, or, more necessarily, the future Queen of England must resign that title and authority.
- 2. " That it is the right of a Christian people, under their divine head, freely to choose their own ministers, to the thorough abolition of political patronage and the removal of the bishops from the House of Peers.
- 3. "That the ordinance of the Lord, respecting the provision for the clergy, requires the abolition of all compulsion in every form, whether of tithes, church-rates, marriage-fees, payments for baptismal registration, or burial dues; that consequently church property (that obtained by private bequest excepted, and due regard being had to the present legal rights of individuals), must be transferred to his Majesty's Exchequer, to be employed to relieve the national burdens, and that then ALL PARTIES BE LEFT TO SUPPORT THE MINISTERS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE." *

* See Report of the Meeting of Friends of a Reform of Church and State, held at the City of London Tavern, on Tuesday the 12th January, 1836.—The Rev. Mr. Jones in the Chair.

On the other side, a reverend "churchman" has lately published, in twelve parts, his reasons *against* the *voluntary system* (J. G. and F. Rivington); but with all due respect to the author, we confess that after reading his book, we rose more convinced than we were before of the great necessity of such a system, and this is generally the case with all sectarian disputants: the only arguments they can have recourse to, *are sure to cut both ways*—the edge brought into use, merely depending upon the readers' opinions ! many neglected uninformed parents and guardians, whose moral and educational improvement entered not into the views of former barbarous and profligate administrations, urged on as they were, even by the votes of our spiritual peers.

The time of these unconscious victims, was wholly taken up during the last half century in reading about wars, loans, and taxes—undertaken, raised, and imposed, for the unholy purposes of bribing and exasperating people against people, and of enmeshing more completely the working classes of Europe in the web of mental bondage and financial despotism.

The social harmony which follows the diffusion of intellectuality, would assuredly be better promoted among parents and guardians by opening large and comfortable lecture-rooms in every parish of the united kingdom, where *sermons on reality*, or scientific lectures on the practice and products of mechanical inventions, on the applications of the natural discoveries of genius to social comforts—on demonstration and illustration of natural phenomena, including the social duties corresponding to human feelings—on all knowledge really useful to laborious industry, and at the same time interesting and instructive to the rich, should be delivered gratis every Sunday.

These *truly reverend* lecturers would soon attract crowds of plebeians of all ages, eager to acquire positive knowledge—these lecture-rooms would soon be considered by a thinking public the truly useful temples—not dedicated mysteriously, as heretofore, by priestcraft to imaginary personified deities, but sanc-

268 COMMON SENSE, THOUGHT, AND REASON,

tioned, on the contrary, by real science—sanctioned by the continued progress of mind—sanctioned by the wants of intelligence—by the noble feelings which are generated through the active cultivation of the organs of thought, perception, and reflection.

Let the progressive spirit of action still continue to be denominated according to the animal instincts of the sectarian, the religionist, and the metaphysician by the words "soul, God, Holy Ghost, devil, powers, properties, qualities; or by what else you please: but observe:

No one wishing to be really cducated, should henceforth attend places known by the mystic name of "*House of the Lord*," so long as no questions are allowed there—places from which REASON, COMMON SENSE, LIBERTY of THOUGHT and MENTAL CONVIC-TION, are by mystic law excluded, and at the door of which they must actually each and all be left, before their possessors can be permitted to *stare* at the mystic jargon therein delivered by a respectable though ignorant personage, whether young or old.*

Only watch closely (as we have often done) the countenance and deportment of all those mystic congregations upon their entrance into, or exit from their temples, and say if it be possible to ascertain which

• For a true though ludicrous description of our orthodox and dissenting church-service, see "SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS," p. 6 to 10. By Timothy Spark.—Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand, 1836. of their intellectual faculties is to be—or has been called into action, developed or improved.*

How long will those idolatrous mummeries be tolerated in Europe? Of all the countries we know (and we have visited nearly all the European continent and part of Africa), England and Scotland are still the most puritanically enslaved by Sectarianism! Aye ten times more offensively and ridiculously than even Catholic Ireland! so unjustly condemned and abused by sectarian Protestant infatuation.⁺

* Those who can no longer feel or think of love, as on all such occasions the nature of the majority of the young bids them do—involuntarily assume either a vacant stare of stupidity or put on features of penance and compunction.

It has always been so, and must ever continue so to be, where reason and intelligence cannot feel in harmony with doctrines intended only to be listened to, and cherished by plastic credulity, before the time that the SPIRIT of *real education* could proceed onwards with the understanding.

† Abuse Ireland, indeed ! when the most superficial observer of passing events must know, that it is through Ireland's voice in our legislature, that England has been able to conquer from Sectarian superstition :--

The emancipation of Protestant dissenters;

The emancipation of English and Irish Roman Catholics; The Parliamentary Reform Bills for England and Scotland;

The Municipal Reform Bill for England and Scotland;

And that it is now the increased majority of Irish Reformers sent to the Commons that allows England and Scotland to hope for the final success of every liberal measure tending to encourage FREE INQUIRY in a true spirit of religious toleration, to promote education, science, and philosophy, and to confound the Sectarian differences which, still dividing the people, induce the ignorant to accuse and condemn their benefactors !

270 MENTALISM ABHORS SABBATH RESTRICTIONS.

No !—no ! human mental wANTS cannot possibly endure much longer the privations imposed by your mystic Sabbath laws and regulations: nor your narrow system of education opposed to the expansive faculties of its nature; onwards it must proceed in spite of every obstacle; and TIME will shew ere long—

That, all superstitions were but the first land-marks discovered from off the ocean of darkness by the animal instinct of a sensitive organisation;

That, all Symbolical worships were but the supply of a natural indispensable food for instinctive credulity—the first expression of the organic wish to know;

That all *theology* was but a series of systems of occult *knowledge* during animal-man's profound ignorance of his kind and of the organic world;

And lastly, that all *blind faith* was but the first instinctive restraint acting as a temporary monitor within human organization, at all times ready to disappear together with primitive ignorance, before the mental conviction derived from the study of realities; and consequently must gradually cease to be the sole guide of men's thoughts and actions in proportion as darkness, credulity, ignorance, rudeness, barbarism, and vulgarity shall gradually disappear from among mankind.—This, they would very soon do from England, if its rulers and legislators were allowed to know somewhat more of the irresistible mental progressiveness of human nature when properly cultivated, than it is in the power or constitution of its old Universities, or even new colleges and schools, to bestow, or perhaps their intention to diffuse.*

Should the narrow-minded and timorous, fancy they can see in the foregoing pages any taints of what they term "atheism," (a mental aberration, merely opposed to superstition as one inconsistency is opposed to another), we may tell them that we believe in a

* "Symptoms of more toleration and far better systems of education begin, however, to show themselves. The insult which was put upon the Bishop of Norwich, a few weeks ago, at his installation, and which has immortalized the name of STANLEY, arose entirely from the Conservative spirit, which insists upon the preservation of abuses for ever .--- " Meddle not with those who are given to change," they have Scripture for it ! only it is a Scripture which condemns the Reformation as deeply as Reform. These men, the Rev. Lord Bayning and others, who opposed the Bishop, would, had they been Jews, have crucified Christ in Jerusalem !- they would have stuck fast to the Popish Church had they lived in the days of Wick-They are Conservatives; they support Satan in his liffe. government of the world, and would be sorry to see a change, unless it were a change which, increasing still more ignorance, would pour in their tribute with less labour to themselves, and less anxiety about its amount.

"The new Bishop said, the Church was not the clergy but THE PEOPLE! This, no doubt, was offensive. And he also said that there might be unity of MIND without unity of *form*; and, consequently, justified Dissenters for objecting to established forms; this also gave offence.

"He said, moreover, that societies for the promotion of KNOWLEDGE should not be exclusively in the hands of the Establishment.

"In short, the liberality of his views, in progressive education, called forth shouts of disapprobation, and the Rev. Lord Bayning refused to propose that the sermon should be printed! His Reverend Lordship's conduct was hailed with a concert of Does education in England promote and encourage the exercise of these faculties? No-decidedly not-our clerical teachers, in dread of intellectuality, close on Sundays † all sources of information, and use

approbation from the clergy ! What do the clergy mean? They mean, if they could, to monopolize the mental power of the country, to dictate to the SPIRIT of faith, to superintend the seminaries of education, to license teachers and preachers, to multiply churches, to impoverish Dissenters by obtaining government grants to endow their own chapels, and thus lure away the people by cheap sittings, and then clench the nail by an increase of territory corresponding to the increase of their own number.

* See THEOREM, to Part III.

† "I should consider it very desirable that all the collections of nature and art were opened on every Sunday for a few hours; and I take the more interest upon this subject, because I am convinced that the days when they are closed, viz. the Sundays and holydays, are the only periods when they are accessible to the working people.

"In addition to this it is very important to have a short catalogue with some introductory remarks, giving a short history of the art, with remarks upon the objects exhibited, so that the spectator, when he enters, may not be quite ignorant of the subject."

See "Minute of Evidence," of G. Frederick Waagen, 27th July, 1835; before a select committee appointed to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the ARTS, and of the principle of design among the people. p. 12. I. § 91.

all their influence within and without the schools, to enlarge the organs of *ideality*, *wonder*, and *veneration*, so as to *atrophyse* the reasoning and perceptive faculties of the brain.

Moreover, a radical reform in education is the more urgent in this country, seeing that in the intellectual pursuits which form great minds, England was formerly pre-eminent—for she once stood at the head of European philosophy.

Where stands she now ?

Precisely where the priesthood have placed her, when the church, terrified by the publication of the "NOVUM ORGANUM," contrived so to direct, regulate, and control everywhere the instruction of youth, as by *mutilating* the human brain, none should dare to seek freely for the truth in proceeding *without wonder* or mysticism from the known to the unknown.

Does it not then behove a reforming administration to redeem their countrymen from the curse of mental darkness under which they feel now so perplexed, that few among them actually know how to think, nor which way to turn! witness the painfully ludicrous result of the last elections, during which so many fools or knaves hooted and *implored* to be maintained in their vulgar ignorance, by voting for some blind or insidious "conservative!"

"What is it that constitutes the celebrity of England in the present day?

"Those very things *only* which are better done when man most resembles a machine, with the precision of a machine.

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" In intellect she is distinguished merely for a kind of sober good sense, free from extravagance, but also void of those lofty aspirations which constitute the spirit and sacredness of human organization!

"Every question is discussed here and decided on its own basis, however narrow, without any light thrown upon it from principles more extensive than itself; and no questions are discussed at all, unless Parliament, or some constituted authority, is to be moved *to-morrow* or *the day after*, to put it to the vote.

"What do we find in England that can bear comparison with the ardour of research, the eagerness for large and comprehensive inquiry of the educated part of the French and German youth—not merely among the children of the wealthy, but also among their working classes!"*

* Rowland Detrosier, a martyr in the noble cause of diffusing *real* knowledge, thus strikingly and beautifully described its utility and advantages :---

"Knowledge is the powerful lever by which man has raised himself above the level of the brute; and as the pages of the moralist and the historian amend the heart by informing the understanding, so the study of natural philosophy dignifies the character, by increasing our powers of usefulness to others. Nor are the details of natural philosophy less interesting than they are profitable and useful. Nature invites us, through the medium of a thousand beauties, to its study. The very stones on which we tread are replete with instruction to the contemplative, whilst the grass of the field, and the ephemeral being which is the cheerful recipient of life but for a day, contribute alike to our nstruction and delight. And who is it that will Not a vestige of a reading and thinking public engaged in the investigation of truth as TRUTH, in the prosecution of thought for the sake of THOUGHT. Among no class, except among the disciples of the benevolent and persevering ROBERT OWEN, of NEW LANARK. is any interest manifested in the great

presume to say, that the study of these subjects is necessarily confined to any particular class of society? Who is so hardy as to declare that an increased individual knowledge of them would impart to it no moral benefits! How striking is the difference between the man of intellect and the mere sensualist, in the appropriation of their leisure hours ! The one increases his means of happiness, and preserves his health, whilst the other wastes his property and hastens his death. One finds his greatest pleasure in turning over the living sentiments of those great teachers whose bodies have long since mingled with the dust; or in learning, with avidity and delight, the imposing discoveries of modern times. The other passes over the surface of this beautiful world with his open eyes, but seeing not; incapable of performing any higher office than that of a mere caterer for the body's wants. The difference of taste, which principally-nay, I may say, solely, arises from the difference of education, gives birth to the distinguishing opposites in conduct, of virtue and vice in various degrees. Man, in a state of ignorance, becomes the dupe of artifice, the victim of error, and is destroyed by the operation of those very causes which would, under proper discipline, become the principal aids to his happiness."

An Address, delivered at the opening of the Rankerian Society, Manchester, by the late Rowland Detrosier.— (CLEAVE, Shoe Lane, London.)

The working classes of England are much indebted to Mr Cleave for the reprint of this excellent pamphlet, by which they will be enabled to acquire an accurate idea of the importance and utility of the sciences. problem of man's nature and comforts in life—among no other class is there any curiosity respecting the nature of the principles on which human society grounds the history of the philosophy of human civilization—nor even any belief that from such inquiries a single important practical consequence can follow.

"This torpid state of national mind on the noblest subject of thought can only be accounted for by some grievous defects in the training of the classes which our endowed Universities *do* educate, for there is de cidedly more spirit of inquiry and research in the minds and pursuits of those which they do *not* educate. Yet all is right with those two great *seminaries*, Oxford and Cambridge, so long as no one speaks of taking away their endowments or encroaching upon their monopoly."*

But what are and what should be Universities?

* See London Review, No. I. pp. 95 to 97, on Professor Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies (not on the education) of the University of Cambridge. Both the discourse and the review are equally curious, though not very interesting: for we hold it as a settled opinion, that to one who still contends, like the Rev. Geologist, M.A. F.R.S, that human nature must be studied through ethics and metaphysics, nothing more need be answered beyond this trite remark, that ethics are no longer knowledge or power, and that metaphysics are too vast and too intricate a labyrinth of endless argumentation ever to teach henceforth any useful positive facts relating to human nature or to anything else.

However admirable (as well adapted to its time and circumstances) any religious system or mode of mystic tuition may be viewed, the fact of its utility as a beginning for human

"The word University has been erroneously understood to mean a place in which the 'universal range of science' is cultivated. Some attention was called to the topic, by the frivolous objection drawn from this source against the London University, in which the science of 'Divinity' is not studied. It was shown, on the other hand, that celebrated Universities had existed in which nothing was studied but medicine, or nothing but law; and that according to etymology, the word University is identical with community; for, in Monkish Latin, vestra universitas means 'your totality,' or ' all of you'-(or now all the people!) In fact, if the etymology, so flippantly and pertinaciously urged against the London University were allowed to decide the use of the term, Oxford must at once renounce the name.

"As regards the dissenters and their claims, we are not sure whether they would not be losers, if they were admitted into the Universities without great reformation having been effected. The moral scandals and dangers to young men are too fearful to be passed over slightly, for the sake of literature or emolument; and we think it *highly desirable* that the

sensitiveness, ere it could reach the scale of intellectuality, never can imply its *continual necessity*, for ascending every subsequent step or degree of that scale; and this applies equally to the period of stationary *blind faith*, when human **THOUGHT** in search of truth plunged into metaphysics, as it does to *metaphysics* themselves, now that the human brain can be made to feel the new convictions of *reality* through observation, understanding, and scientific demonstration.

278 DEFECT OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

public should gain a more detailed and accurate conception of the interior constitution of the Universities, and the working of the machinery; a matter on which the body of the nation (even members of the establishment) are exceedingly in the dark.

"The 'Divinity' lecture at many colleges consists in reading through the four gospels in Greek, while the teacher occasionally deals out remarks taken from Elsley's Annotations; more zealous teachers lecture on the 'thirty-nine Articles !' and here their principal work is to supply texts for proving each article in turn, with other matter from Burnet .---A serious defect seems inevitably to accompany the system; for the mind is never directed to (that most important of all questions)- 'WHAT IS THE TRUTH ?' but merely 'How can we prove the point.' Again, it is material to the pupils to know what the texts really mean; but they are merely TAUGHT what they will be taken to mean in the schools! we need not lay stress on the argument, that such lectures can hardly be otherwise than of a party cast."*

But the progressive wants of the human brain must be obeyed, and our Universities cannot long continue to flourish, *although now claiming infallibility*, because the pursuits which are the end and justification of their existence must decay, in pro-

^{*} See "Sate of the University of Oxford."—ECLECTIC REVIEW, No. vii. for July, 1837.—And for the morals, religion, and learning of Cambridge, see R. M. Beverley's "Letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester." (James Dinnis, 62 Paternoster Row.)

portion as NATURE becomes MORE KNOWN to man; and although their teachers may continue to be paid, *that* which they most affect to teach will vanish from the thoughts and feelings of men in proportion as it is LESS WANTED.*

Of learning hail! No more in idle dreams, Or sunk in formless ease, ingenious youth, Shall waste the long probationary moons Beneath your solemn scenery ! lo ! the gale, The salutary gale Elesia blows, Which from your cloister'd glooms shall purge away The long-collected damp that SICKENS LIFE, And smothers knowledge ! The voice of nations, as the sound of seas. Asserts their sovereign claim. Prepare ! prepare ! And trim the midnight lamp! nor at the hour Of fervid noon repose; collect the wealth Of ages in your minds! Your reasoning powers Employ in just arrangement ! Then away To public haunts, where expectation stands On tip-toe, till the power that shakes the soul Awakes her sleeping thunders. There, exert Your Ciceronian gifts, for, lo! the voice Of public favour or rejection comes .--Comes in the breeze, which soon shall sweep away The useless chaff, and leave the golden grain."

Rev. H. Boyd.

* "With respect to the Irish church, it is also obvious that it cannot go on upon the old system. The truth is that the church has fallen into a state of ruin in that country, by reason of the acts of its own ministers. In many of the rural districts the edifices of the establishment have not been opened for three years. They have been literally deserted by worshippers, by ministers, and even by the sextons. Those who

280 RIGHT UNDERSTANDING IS INCOMPATIBLE

The human understanding, with which any dogma of blind faith is wholly incompatible, is a comprehensive faculty of the brain, in aim and function infinitely superior to that of mere *credulity*; for, the latter hastens to admit immediately and implicitely whatever *notions* are presented to it, be they ever so mysterious and unintelligible; while the former, on the contrary, yelding to demonstration alone, refuses its assent to all that is repugnant to the laws of nature, to the facts admitted by science, and to conclusions not in harmony with our reasoning faculties.

Can anything, therefore, be more contrary to common sense, than to suppose for one moment that both *blind credulity* and cultivated UNDERSTANDING can be simultaneously promoted, developed, and encou-

wish to preserve even what remains of that institution, should consider whether it would not be better, on the whole, to set up the church property there to auction, and have the clergy paid out of the consolidated fund upon a scale graduated according to the amount of duty which they have to perform." —(See "Domestic" Prospects of the Country under the new Parliament, 1837.")

To this we beg leave to add :—make all your churches more ATTRACTIVE, and the people will soon fill them—proclaim aloud throughout the United Kingdom that a progressive want of knowledge is the true religious SPIRIT :

That it is old *forms* only which must be reformed !—That more useful knowledge is the true "spiritual food !"—That more knowledge is in reality more understanding : and that to have more understanding is to have more religion and morality !—In short, that to introduce PHILOSOPHY INTO ALL TEMPLES as well as into all palaces, is the religious reform now wanted, by all classes, to reconcile all mystic sects by annihilating all forms of superstitions, raged in the same brain regarding notions and KNOW-LEDGE which relate to similar objects,* viz. MAN, and the globe he dwells upon ?

Yet such were, it would appear, the expectations of the heads of the KING'S COLLEGE, when those good and virtuous, but mistaken men, took for their motto "FIDE ET SCAPIENTE"—as a most ostensible confession of their ignorance of the influence of real knowledge over blind faith! †

* See pages 61 to 74, and 84 to 88.

[†] INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION versus BIBLE INSTRUCTION.— There is a curious controversy going on between the Central School Society and the British and Foreign School Society, Borough Road,[‡] the pith of which appears to be, the difficulty both parties seem to feel in reconciling the old "Bible instruction" with the new intellectual education. Convinced, as we are, that intellectual demonstration and Bible mystic tuition are incompatible, we quite agree as to the principle of banishing the old Bible class from all schools where an intellectual education is to be given.—You cannot in justice say to pupils in one case, that they will not know without understanding? and in the other, that they cannot understand what they must believe? the very terms imply contradiction, and should it in appearance succeed with some dunces, it never can be without causing that irreparable injury to the human brain, which makes the dunce.

We should also vote, by all means, for the proposed substitution to the old regular Bible class, viz. that of " admitting into the schools *clergymen*, of all sects, on fixed days, each to give religious instruction according to his own particular creed," for this would just be pouring oil upon the fire of sectarianism, and the absurdities of all shades of mysticism would then become so glaringly evident as to generate a clearer sense, and cause the whole *Biblical System* much sooner to vanish entirely from all establishments intended for INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION.

‡ See Morning Chronicle for September, 1837.

Indeed, the means employed to perpetuate the ignorance of human nature, are quite revolting to common sense. Some of our performers on the mental stage of life seem to have exchanged parts.

We read of a Protestant Professor declaring, that "the object of a scientific institution was to confine its researches to 'dead matter' without entering into any speculation on the relations of intellectual beings," adding, that "he would brand as a traitor any person who should dare to overstep the boundaries of the institution."* Bravo! Mr. Professor! in what estimation must then be held the interests and capacities which join your institution?

On the other hand, what is the language now held by the first Roman Catholic among her Majesty's subjects ?—" I hate the inquisition in Spain, or Catholic ascendancy in Portugal," says Daniel O'Connell. " Let there be liberty to seek the truth, and it will in the end prevail; it is man's first and sacred duty to seek after the true religion !—threats, force, and violence will never open him to conviction."†

Have we not almost here the sentiments of Wickliffe from the lips of a Roman Catholic, claiming mental justice, with liberty of conscience; and those of Wickliffe's inquisitorial Popish persecutors, from ne hps of a *Protestant* teacher? Are we dreaming?

^{*} Professor Sedgwick's declaration at the meeting of the British Association in October, 1834.—See Prospectus to the ÆSTHETIC INSTITUTION.

[†] DANIEL O'CONNELL'S Speech in Dublin, on the 5th Aug. 1837.

or are we really in England, and in the year 1837? What then becomes of the boasted Protestant right of inquiry?—of what use, then, the Reformation?

What is, in fact, the avowed object of cultivating the UNDERSTANDING OF THE PEOPLE?—is it not to enable them to judge of all things by themselves? is it not to enable them to discriminate between those whose interest it might be to deceive and mislead them, and those who are their true and sincere friends? in other words: is it not to remove the blind credulity natural to ignorance ?—How, then, is MAN ever to know MAN, if those who dread mental progressiveness, and general civilization, presume to limit his inquiries to "dead matter ?"

It is not enough at this period of civilization, and population, to enforce *individual rights* only. It is now expected from all European governments, that they should equally enforce *social justice* and *social duties* ! setting themselves the first example, by regarding the diffusion of intellectual KNOWLEDGE among all classes, as the most sacred duty of civilized society.

What then can be the pretension of the clergy and professors, if not that—of perpetuating respect and worship for IDOLS, in whose service their youth was trained by authority, and their maturer age engaged by interest?

Let us summon them to the bar of science or of common sense, and let them explain, if they can, how they fancy to succeed, without at the same time perpetuating the credulity of ignorance, so inseparable from the blind faith they require, to maintain their power?

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Will they not be then compelled to confess their decided aversion to any system of national education, professing to cultivate in reality the understanding of the people?

We moreover contend, that all the people cannot continue to listen to the doctrine of a mystic priesthood so advantageously as they did when in profound ignorance, or in the absence of the new wealth and new temptations arising out of artificial semi-civilization.

Mystic worships may well have been followed and cherished by the people, as affording them, under the sufferings and misery of ignorant barbarism, a source of consolation in the present, and hopes for the future; but how can they continue to be equally cherished and respected by all, when, under superior social circumstances, daily increasing knowledge, and over-abundance of products, the dogmatical forms and mental restrictions imposed, cannot prevent the ignorance of many from ceasing, nor their hopes from being realized on earth.

No one denies, that there was a time when to be led entirely by mystic revelations was comparative comfort, happiness, and security ! The priest was then, what he ought to have continued to be—the best informed and the most useful of men: but neither the priests, civilization, knowledge, nor the press, were then what time has made them.*

* It is now well known, that there is no real power in names to *consecrate* persons or things, or to alter their nature.

This progressive being-MAN-who has successively sub-

Surrounded now (especially in our large towns) by the new luxuries of life, by the achievements of industry, by the abundant products of modern manufacture—in short, secured on all sides by artificial civilization, excited by the want of possessing the means of consuming and enjoying what he sees thousands of others consume and enjoy : it cannot be reasonably expected that the most needy among an industrious people should continue to listen with the same feelings of complacency, humility, and satisfaction, to the wealthy and comparatively ignorant clergy of the day, who generally end or begin their pulpit exhortations with mere threats and reproaches to all the people for not behaving with the same propriety, decency, and contentment, as do now most of the rich and more comfortably situated, who, wanting actually nothing to satisfy the pleasurable sensations of organic life, can feel no other physical WANT, or moral wish, than that of being distinguished by the esteem and the respect their social position requires and commands.

jected all the elements to his control, is at last beginning to penetrate into the depths of his own brain, and cannot long remain ignorant of his own mental capabilities.

The people now know the importance of the *press*, as an instrument for the *human mind*, to promote the greatest, the most extensive, and comprehensive of all reforms—that of education in realities—And if, to "enter into any speculation on the relations of intellectual social beings" is now to become a "*traitor*," that word must henceforth be used as designating the highest rank and most honourable distinction mankind ever bestowed upon any individual !

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In the present relative position of rich and poor,* is it not, on the contrary, more natural to expect that the latter will answer with mental reservation to all mystic and metaphysical instructors, by saying, "Give me first what I really want, both physically and

* "It is the established law of society, that the poor industrious man shall have nothing but that for which he gives his labour, and the rich man everything for which he gives his money. Machinery is very fast superseding human labour in general; and monopoly is accumulating masses of exclusive wealth: thus the rich and the poor are advancing to a point at which a reaction must occur.

"The love of property has usurped the place of the love of human nature; art is valued more than the artisan, trade than the trader. In statistical inquiries, it is *produce*, not *producers*, that concentrates attention: if the former be great, the political economist is satisfied; he pronounces the country so distinguished to be in a high state of prosperity; the human feelings, faculties, and frames, that have been tortured by privation, and abridged of their fair proportion of enjoyment and of life, are not even casually glanced at.

"The division of labour, and all the other principles of the science of political economy, have aimed only at the increase of wealth, and the aim has been accomplished; but the practical morality, that ought to make a primary part of this and every science, is left out of view. Where have we plan or principle for the increase or security of happiness, though to seek happiness be the inherent and inextinguishable mastermotive of every human breast—leading naturally to the exercise of every virtue, but, under existing circumstances, to every vice?"—Mrs. Leman Grimstone.

† The following shrewd remark of an Indian is a natural expression of that feeling :---

"Mr. M'Leod was reproving one of them (Chippewyans) for the bickerings he had had with another tribe; and after expostulating with him on the danger of so bad an example, mentally, and I may, perhaps, afterwards muster patience enough to listen to all you may still have to say about what I am, or even about what is yet unknown to me, as well as to yourself !"

Could our exhortations be heard we would say to the rulers of nations : --- Hesitate not to secure yourselves against the dangerous means employed to perpetuate the vulgar ignorance of nature, wheresoever it may insidiously lurk - mystified in popish or episcopal power, or in vulgar mental bondage; for, IGNORANCE ALONE ! is the "original sin" of mankind; and from that inevitable sin it is in the power of all civil governments to redeem the whole population over whom they rule, in the short space of time which is necessary for one generation to succeed to another !---by merely protecting and educating all the children of those parents who have been so neglected in their youth, as to have grown up to perpetuate in their offspring the coarseness and brutality of mere animal instincts.

To all parents and guardians we would say:— Rouse yourselves against ignorance ! that you may

informed him that they were all brothers, created by the same power, which made no distinction between man and man, but regarded every one according to the quality of his actions; that they should be kind, therefore, and charitable towards each other, for that such conduct was pleasing to the Great Spirit. 'Ah!' said the Indian, with a heavy sigh, 'that is good, and if the Chief wishes to teach us in that way, which is very good, let him show that *he* fears himself the Great Spirit; and let him give me a gun to hunt with, for my family are starving.'"—*Capt. Back's Journal.* prepare for your daughters a new life of real happiness, and yet one of innocence, consistent with a true knowledge of the organic wants of human nature, when the God of mind may guide the God of love; * for it is only the due regulation of all our appetites by cultivated reason, that promises a healthful equilibrium of the cerebral mass.

Rouse yourselves against the mystic causes of ignorance! that you may prepare for your sons a new life of intellectuality, when mind and experience may perchance be heard, and when mere birth and property shall no longer exclusively qualify for legislation. †

To the liberal and sincere teachers of European youth we would also say :---

Rouse yourselves against those who foster ignorance! whether seated on a throne to command cloistered in a convent or mystic temple to deceive ensconced by episcocracy in schools, so that THOUGHT may be nipped in the bud—or praised and protected in the labourer's cottage, for the purpose of blinding

* "Why for ourselves do we unwearied toil, To frame the strong and adamantine band, To wreathe the closely-clasping numbing coil— Why choose to linger, fettered foot and hand ?— Why for ourselves have we for ever planned Restraints—forbidding us to freely move— Trembling we stir, or totteringly we stand, So cramped with selfish motives : let the Dove The Stork teach better things—and lesson us in love ?" The Visionary, by Lady E. S. Wortley, p. 38.

† See, PROPOSALS FOR AN INTELLECTUAL FRANCHISE, or the Rights of Intellectuality to represent in the House of Commons. —By W. Joyce. London: Effingham Wilson, 1836. " REDEMPTION," IS INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION. 289

its humble tenants as to the *real* causes of his halfrewarded toil, periodical sufferings, and constant mental privations.

To the youths of all classes we would fain repeat and repeat again :---

Rouse yourselves against all teachers ignorant of your mental wants! that you may know how to break through the mystic barriers invented to confine expansive thought within narrow stationary doctrines.

Rouse yourselves against the mystificators of ignorance! and claim with one heart and one voice the prerogatives of the human understanding to obtain mental convictions, through a liberal education, in the true relations of your faculties and properties, with those of all other surrounding substances.

Finally, we would impress all classes with the necessity of forming moral unions to promote a manly spirit of intellectual progress, against all sectarian forms of mysticism, for the instinctive fear of the Lord is only the "beginning of wisdom," as true as your own "Scriptures" say it;—but are not then four thousand years "as a beginning" quite long enough? Moreover, has not wisdom, once obtained through a knowledge of realities, the power to allay all fears? and do not the same "Scriptures" tell you repeatedly to GET KNOWLEDGE and to GET UNDERSTANDING?*

Assuredly the religious world cannot interpret the spirit of the following quotations differently than we

^{*} See "Proverbs" c. ii. v. 3, 11; c. iv. v. 1, 7, 13; c. viii. v. 1 to 13, and 30 to 36; c. ix. v. 6, 10; c. xiv. v. 7, 8, 15; c. xv. v. 14; c. xvi. v. 16, 22; c. xviii. v. 15.

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do—and even the mystic world must admit, that if we are to believe in chap. xxi. v. 30. of "Proverbs" —there can be no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel AGAINST the Lord ! for it is said, cap. viii. v. 14, "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom"—and "I AM UNDERSTANDING !" On what grounds then do the priests dare contend, that our intellectual faculties with which only we can understand—are opposed to the SPIRIT of religion ?

"Is it not most painful to reflect, that the naturalist who delights in describing the organization and habits of the smallest insect, should be compelled to lay down his pen when about to describe the faculties, WANTS, and feelings of an intelligent social being, because, forsooth, he boasts of having been made after the image of God?"

Is there—can there be a more sacred occupation? Is there—can there be one, more interesting—more instructive—more useful—or even more religious? —impossible!

For, since mental development is the antecedent fact to increased human sensitiveness—and this latter the antecedent fact to the progress of civilization, must not ignorance of human nature, wherever it is found, retard mental development, and, in proportion, retard the main object of all our endeavours—progressive HAPPINESS in PEACE and SECURITY, through INTELLECTUAL CIVILIZATION?

CHARACTER OF MANY SCHOOLMASTERS AND TEACHERS OF THE PEOPLE.

Having stated what education for the people *should be*, let us see what others say, that *it* now *is* in England !

"A good deal of the bad morals, bad methods, and absurd prejudices, which we find amongst our population are perpetuated by the bad example of the teachers and their associates. "I find (says Mr. Ashworth) that *there are in many cases* from 20 to 100 scholars, crammed into a dirty room or cellar, without air or ventilation, the effluvia from whose breath and clothes must be very injurious to the childrens' health. In some instances the neighbours were sitting over the fire in the school, smoking their pipes, to chat and gossip.

" One of the masters told me, in answer to the question, 'Whether he had been educated for the employment?' that he was so educated, adding, ' My father larnt eight parts of speech, besides English, and parson Fouds toud him tin he coud teych him, no feer ? Upon my remarking, that I supposed he would have been liberally educated, he said: 'Oh, yes! I larnt accident and grammar.' Necessity, not fitness, seems in almost every instance to have been the cause of the teacher's adopting this employment, as it is evident, by a perusal of the answers which they had given on being asked what inducement led them to undertake the profession of schoolmasters : 'Old age ! and to get a living.'-'I were left with four young children, and I undertook it to get a living.'-- 'I took it because I could get nothing else.'-One man gave as his reason, ' that he had lost his left arm :'-and a woman, ' that she had lamed her foot.'-Another old woman said, 'she kept a dameshool, because she geet poor and was a widow.' "*

On one occasion, the committee of Liverpool found a teacher in a garret, who to their successive inquiries, whether he taught geometry, pneumatics, hydrostatics, astronomy, in-

* *Athenæum*—From a "Report on the State of Education in Bolton," by Mr. Ashworth, 1836.

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variably answered, 'Yes!' at last one of the committee exclaimed, 'Why, this man is the *ne plus ultra* of teachers.'— 'Oh, yes!' remarked the schoolmaster, 'I teach *that* also!'

"Another was asked if he taught morals :— 'Why,'he replied, with some hesitation, 'that is a thing for girls.'—One of these moral teachers absented himself for a whole week, which he passed at the gin-shop, his scholars going on much better without him. Another was met in the streets of Manchester or Salford rushing out of the school, with all his pupils at his heels, to see a fight in the street. These cases existed all over the kingdom. If we believe those things can we call this education? and are we not bound to ask for a remedy to those evils, and for an education such as would really enlighten and improve the people of England?" *

"This state of things must not be suffered to continue. We must no longer be distinguished only among the nations, by our advanced and proud position, as to a knowledge of manufacturing vegetable substances, of training animal ones, or in the arts of producing *wealth*; and marked, at the same time, for the intellectual darkness and social degradation of our producers, and our profound *practical* ignorance of moral science, and the arts of producing happiness. The elements of social progression, which are now scattered in many directions, must be brought to bear with a concentrated force upon the public mind, and every British child be provided from infancy with a good, useful, INTELLECTUAL EDU-CATION by the state, free from superstition and sectarianism. Petitions, in support of this should be poured in from every town and village."

Nothing better has been said, but unless you can offer such emoluments as may induce well-educated LADIES and GENTLE-MEN to become teachers of the people, you merely perpetuate the ignorance, coarseness, and bad example now diffused by many wretched schoolmasters and mistresses.

* See Mr. Wyse's Speech at the Salford Town's Meeting. on the 23d Sept., 1837.

CHARACTER OF THE ESTABLSHED CLERGY BY A CLERGY-MAN, AS DISPLAYED DURING THE LAST ELECTIONS!

Dr. Knox, on Wednesday the 23d August, made the following excellent observations upon his profession : "Allusion has been made, said he, to the "*Liberal*" clergy,—I grieve to hear that epithet used.

"Is it posssible that a clergyman,—that one, trained and educated in the most liberal, most enlightened, most benevolent of all systems of religion, can be ' illiberal ?'

"Is it for a clergyman to sanction and encourage so selfish, so partial, so exclusive, so uncharitable a spirit, as history from the earliest periods, has invariably shown the spirit of Toryism to be?

" Is it for a minister of peace to countenance and applaud the sanguinary wars in which we have been engaged ?

"Is it for a clergyman to promote the lavish and prodigal expenditure of his country's wealth to gratify ambition, to aggrandise power, or prop up and support tyranny and despotism?

" Is it for a clergyman to create invidious distinctions between MAN and MAN, and to display the 'proud man's contumely' towards his humbler brethren ?

"Is it for a clergyman, by himself or by those whom he selects as his leaders, and whom he servilely follows, to denounce not only his fellow-creatures, but even his fellow-subjects, as 'aliens,' 'aliens in religion, in language, and in blood ?'

"If this be the duty of a clergyman, then must I confess my total ignorance of that duty. Then must I confess that I have been instructed in a wrong school.".... This is the best rebuke to the Clergy that the elections have produced, and the best admonition as to their future conduct.

The Rev. Doctor proceeds in the same fervid strain of eloquence, and says, "It will be asked, if what I now say be true, how is it that clergymen, as it is alleged, are found to be the most zealous, the most ardent, the most determined supporters of the un-Christian spirit of Toryism? There must exist something wrong somewhere—something of most powerful weight and influence, that can counteract what I have described as, and what I fearlessly contend must be, the natural and immediate effect of the clergyman's education. I cannot but suspect that the influence of Tory patronage and *the system pursued* at the great seminaries of education, the Universities, are in a great degree the cause of this."

The part which the Clergy of the Established Church had taken, on this and other occasions, had struck him with astonishment. He hoped that the time would soon arrive when, instead of the parsons being, as in many cases he could name, in opposition to nearly the whole of their parishioners—it would be necessary for them to be heart and soul identified with their flocks.

There is another most important topic upon which Dr. Knox expresses himself with equal truth. He asks—"Who and what has raised Mr. O'Connell to his high eminence? Those who have allowed the wrongs of Ireland to accumulate to such heaps, that Mr. O'Connell, who has mounted upon them, as upon yon heap of earth, cannot but be raised to this lofty and conspicuous station.* If we wish, as good soldiers of the Church, to drive him from these heights—from this 'vantage ground—let us reduce those heaps, and he must then descend to the level upon which we all stand. Deprive the opponents of the Church of all grounds of complaint against it, and you silence them instantly. Persecute and oppress them, and, like high pressure upon steam, you add a hundred fold to their power of resistance and their ability to do harm."

There can be no better reason for proclaiming the "*Voluntary System*" in all matters of *blind faith*—and INTEL. LECTUAL EDUCATION for all those desirous of knowing the capacity of their own BRAINS.

* "To me it is delightful to contemplate a Protestant parson making more than a tacit confession of the conscious insecurity of his religious opinions, when he declares that he fears their overthrow unless injustice shall be continued to be dealt out to Ireland—thus making that iniquity the shield and strength of his Protestant faith! Yet such is the scene which in one thousand parishes in England was unblushingly exhibited during the late elections !"—See O'Connell's Letter to the People of Ireland, written from Derrynane Abbey, Sept. 2d, 1837.

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SPIRIT OF TORYISM

AS MANIFESTED DURING THE LAST ELECTIONS :-

"PATRONAGE," before intelligence! IGNORANCE, PERPETUATED! BIGOTRY, PRAISED and encouraged! SERVILITY towards the powerful; INTIMIDATION towards dependants!

This is an accurate designation of Toryism. "Could any thing be more monstrous than that the same party, who had embarked in the American war, and had kept Ireland in a state of ignorance and strife for half a century, should now expect the people to place the public affairs again in their hands, because, forsooth, they called themselves '*Conservatives*,' instead of Tories?

"The people would not be such idiots as to entrust their liberties to men who would perpetuate their ignorance, so that they could neither know nor understand."

"The Tories profess," says Dr. Knox, "great and exclusive regard and veneration for religion.—Extraordinary claims to, and professions of, any one virtue, always give rise to suspicion of the reality of that virtue's existence. In religion this is most especially true; and we have the authority of one, whose word cannot be denied, for its correctness.

"And how, let me ask—how have the Tories displayed and proved their great veneration for religion?

" Is it by the disgraceful, the impious, the profane use which they have made of *their* holy term, for the purposes of mere electioncering machinations?

"Is it by the insult offered to *their* sacred volume, in causing it to be stuck up as an election placard upon the walls of every town and village throughout the kingdom, and in exposing it to the thoughtless ribaldry of electioneering partisans? Out upon such hypocrisy! And after all what has it availed them? Have not honesty and intelligence gained a glorious majority?

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"GLORIOUS though small MAJORITY against IGNORANCE, BIGOTRY, and INTOLERANCE;

"Glorious, not in the amount, but in the character of our majority.—Reflect for an instant upon the forces arrayed against the liberal candidate.

"All the bigotry—all the corruption—all the intolerance all the mercenary agency—all the servile sycophancy—and, I grieve to add, the calumnious and malignant defamation of the county !—the little squires, the 'novi homines,' who set up for squires, and think that when a man becomes a Tory it makes him a gentleman—the yeomanry cavalry; these political associations were combined against the honest, upright, consistent candidate of liberal principles. And yet have the spirit and independance of the 'Men of Kent' risen superior to them all." The Rev. Doctor thus describes what is called intimidation :

" What numbers will you discover, who have voted against their own well-known and often expressed sentiments. Most men's political opinions are as well known as their features or their persons. Whence is it that so many have voted against their opinions? Can it be owing to aught but to the curse of intimidation ? The Tories, perhaps will evade this by some quibble upon the meaning of the word. All that generates FEAR is intimidation. The fear of the lash, of the cudgel, of the blunderbuss, of loss of custom, of dismissal from service, of exclusion from the select circle-all influence the conduct, and constitute intimidation. It may be said that the Tory canvassers do not, like the highwayman, stop their victims and demand 'their vote or their life.' But the cunning lawyer-the busy agent-the domineering, overbearing steward, that gently whispers ' your vote, or that by which you support life-your farm, your shop, your public-house, your wages, &c.' I venture to assert that the gentle whisper is frequently as effectual-if not more so-than the most bold and daring demand of the highway robber."*

* See Dr. Knox and Mr. Law Hodges' Speeches at Tonbridge, on the 23rd Aug., 1837.

CONSIDÉRATIONS

SUR

LA CRISE DE JUILLET 1830,

ЕТ

SUR L'AVENIR DE

LA FRANCE NOUVELLE;

SOUS LE RAPPORT DE

L'INFLUENCE DANGEREUSE DE

LA RÉVOLUTION DU 7 AOÛT

SUR LA PAIX GÉNÉRALE DE L'EUROPE.

••••••" ET DANS 15 OU 20 MOIS, COMME DANS 10 OU 15 ANS, LA FORTUNE CAPRICIEUSE NE PEUT-ELLE PAS FAIRE PAROITRE SUCCESSIVEMENT OU SIMULTANÉMENT L'ARMÉE D'HENRI V., L'ARMÉE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE, L'ARMÉE DE NAPOLÉON II., ET L'ARMÉE D'ORLÉANS, SE DISPUTANT LA SOUVERAINETÉ."

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1831.

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INTRODUCTION.

 $\mathbf{P}_{\text{ERSUADÉS}}$ comme nous le sommes, que l'Europe seroit moins agitée, la France moins inquiète au dedans et plus imposante au déhors, sous Philippe Régent que sous Philippe Roi, nous croyons devoir soumettre à ceux qui ont quelque influence sur la marche des choses les Réflexions suivantes sur la Crise de Juillet dernier, sans y avoir d'autre interêt que celui que doivent prendre tous les amis de l'ordre et de la paix dans la stabilité des institutions liberales, qui reconnoissant les Droits et les Devoirs du Roi comme des Citoyens, assurent le plus grand bonheur de tous.

Cette crise, malgré son caractère nouveau et son apparence décisive, n'est probablement qu'un combat de plus pour l'histoire de cette longue lutte entre l'Absolutisme et le Liberalisme, qui pouvoit cependant avoir été le dernier, si la JUSTICE (ce principe éternel) eut été plus respecté par UN PARTI NOUVEAU, QUI, SANS AVOIR COURU LES DANGERS DES TROIS JOURNÉES, PRÉTENDS NÉANMOINS EN RECUEILLIR LES PREMIERS AVANTAGES. Pour mieux juger des résultats de ce que nous voyons aujourdhui, il faut avoir présent à l'esprit ce que nous avons vu depuis 40 ans : or durant cette lutte obstinée (lutte qui n'est rien moins que celle des idées du siècle présent contre les idées des siècles passés) la France a été conduite successivement, bon gré, mal gré,

Du Pouvoir Absolu à la Constitution; De la Constitution à l'Egalité Idéale; De l'Egalité à la Gloire et à l'Anarchie; De l'Anarchie à la Terreur; De la Terreur à l'Ineptie Directoriale; De l'Ineptie au Consulat Républicain; De la République à l'Empire; De l'Empire encore à la Gloire; De cette Gloire à la Tyrannie Militaire; De la Tyrannie* à la Honte et aux Trahisons; Des Trahisons à la Charte octroyée; Et de la Charte à la Perfidie Despotique;

• Il est éssentiel de faire remarquer ici le progrès des nouvelles idées, et leur empire graduel, mais incontestable sur l'opinion, même de leurs plus puissans énnemis. La première Coalition contre la France en 1792 fut formée au cris de VIVE LE ROI ABSOLU! contre la Liberté; mais en 1814 et 15 les mêmes souverains reconnurent que pour entrainer leurs sujets contre le Héro du siècle (qui, non content d'etre absolu chez lui, commençoit à devenir aussi le Tyran des Rois) il falloit faire crier VIVE LA LIBERTÉ! Or pourquoi cette dernière coalition à-t-elle réussi quand toutes les autres avoient échoué? C'est que la Liberté, éblouie d'abord par la Gloire, mais bientôt fatiguée de ses chaines, se réfugia dans le camp de l'énnemi; les Français alors réduits à ne pouvoir plus crier que VIVE L'EMPEREUR! furent obligés de céder devant les phalanges étrangères, qui s'avançoient aux cris de VIVE LA LIBERTÉ ! L'on avoit donc comme changé de rôle, c'est la LIBERTÉ qui triompha toujours. Aussi les peuples réclament ils-aujourdhui la balance du *compte de Liberté* ouvert en 1814 et 15 entre eux et leurs souverains. sans qu'il fut possible au tems de faire sortir de ce chaos politique quelques années suivies de Liberté paisible et praticable.

Le 25 Juillet la France en étoit là, lorsqu'un civisme énergique, mais toujours juste, fut suivi de la révolution qui vient de la conduire, sans son consentement, de la justice éclatante des trois journées à l'illégatite flétrissante de Philippe.

En effet, ne doit-on pas craindre depuis lors que les résultats de cette crise que nous sembloit un instant devoir enfin promettre à la France la véritable liberté constitutionelle sous une minorité legitime, facile à réformer avec un Régent patriote et liberal, ne soyent livrés encore une fois à toutes les conséquences dangereuses d'une succession interrompue sans nécessité.

L'illégalité d'un chef sur le trône sans force et sans gloire, ajoutée à tous les élémens de discorde et de haine inséparables d'une crise pareille, ne sauroit exercer sur les esprits cette force morale qui seule peut empêcher l'incertitude, la crainte, et la méfiance, de les tourmenter jusqu'a ce que la patriotisme de tous, s'evanouisse devant l'interêt privé de chacun.

Nos réflexions sont addressées aux Français de tous les partis; les craintes serieuses que nous ne pouvons étouffer pour l'avenir sont les seuls motifs qui nous les ont dictées; nous les soumettons dans un esprit de paix et de concorde, ne connoissant d'énnemis que dans le fanatisme dangereux de l'ignorance, mais nous le faisons dans l'appréhension pénible, que les années avenir seront des années de sang et de larmes, celles des complots, des intrigues, et des vengeances, si les sentimens qui nous animent n'ont aucun influence sur CELUI dont l'élévation soudaine et impolitique nous paroit devoir changer totalement l'opinion de l'Europe sur le caractère franc et loyal de cette résistance victorieuse et justement applaudie d'un peuple menacé par le fanatisme aveugle d'un moine couronné.

Jàdis, au tems où les peuples incapables de concevoir l'idée d'une existence intellectuelle, végétoient paisiblement dans le bonheur negatif de l'ignorance, l'éducation du Prince pouroit être confiée exclusivement aux hommes d'Eglise, parceque le Trône n'étoit alors que *le premier esclave de l'Autel*: mais depuis que le principe du PEUPLE SOUVERAIN remplaçant celui du DROIT DIVIN, les Rois Constitutionnels sont devenus les *premiers sujèts de la Loi*, pour gouverner sur des *intelligences*, qui ne veulent être dirigées que par la JUSTICE et la RAISON; malheur au Prince qui méconnoissant les signes du tems, place encore sa confiance, ses droits, et son espoir, sous la direction suspecte d'un Sacerdoce ambitieux et vindicatif, dont l'autorité n'a plus d'empire sur les peuples éclairés.

10 Octobre, 1830.

REFLÉXIONS GÉNÉRALES

SUR LA CRISE DE JUILLET 1830.

" LE PLUS GRAND ÉFFORT DE LA RAISON QUI JUGE, EST DE " SE SOUMETTRE À L'AUTORITÉ QUI SE TROMPE."

La foudre civile, qui vient d'éclater sur les ordonnances du 25 Juillet, prouve à l'Europe étonnée ce que peut éffectuer un Peuple justement irrité combattant pour ses loix, quand les sermens sont oubliés par son Roi: preuve incontestable, que la loi d'inviolabilité n'est qu'un mensonge politique aussitôt que le Roi, ne se respectant plus lui-même, prétends traverser la constitution pour entrer dans l'arbitraire,

Si c'est pour les nations voisines un exemple séduisant et dangereux, ce n'en est pas moins pour le peuple de Paris un acte d'héroïsme, aussi sublime par la promptitude étonnante de cette force de volonté morale qui remporta la victoire, que louable et noble par la modération et la générosité qui soudain succedèrent au carnage. Epoque à jamais memorable, prélude d'une ére nouvelle pour l'histoire de l'humanité, dont il est peut-être permis d'esperer pour les peuples, augmentation de justice, de bonheur, et de véritable liberté constitutionelle.

Mais s'il nous faut admirer la justice des trois journées célèbres des 27, 28, et 29 Juillet, autant croyons nous qu'il faut condamner la majeure partie de ce qui a été fait et sanctionné depuis le 7 Août suivant.

Après un evènement aussi extraordinaire, dont le civisme énergique, et la rapidité du succès, ont du faire frémir à la seule idée des résultats possibles, nous convenons bien qu'une forme quelconque de gouvernement devoit remplacer en toute hâte celui qui venoit d'être anéanti. Grace au Ciel! le Duc d'Orléans c'est trouvé là pour accepter tout ce qu'un parti en délire (si non transi de peur) a bien voulu lui offrir; le repos s'en est suivi, donc pour le moment c'étoit un bien inestimable; mais nous ne craignons point d'affirmer qu'il en eut été de même si le Gouvernement Provisoire (qui ne parut que pour disparoitre) fut resté, de fait comme il l'est d'opinion, attaché à tous les actes qui furent promulgués depuis.

Durant le tems de nos angoisses pour le sort d'une liberté à l'agonie (depuis la restauration des Bourbons jusqu'au 31 Juillet dernier), nous confessons n'avoir jamais soupçonné que le Duc d'Orleans, distingué seulement par ses qualités privées, d'un naturel franc et ouvert, mais sans aucune ambition; qu'un prince sans activité politique, sans liaisons ostensibles avec aucune des oppositions parlementaires, sans intimité connue avec le chef avoué des Républicains, et lui-même hors de la scène depuis plus de 37 ans, put trouver soudain dans la composition de son naturel assez de résolution pour se mettre sans hésiter à la tête d'un parti plus timide qu'énergique?

Nous concevons que l'urgence impérieuse du moment ait pu le convaincre de la nécessité d'accepter le titre de Lieuténant Général, c'étoit après les trois journées un appel irrésistible à sa naissance, à son patriotisme connu, et à son humanité, mais se laisser entrainer huit jours après jusque sur le trône, est tout au moins inconcevable pour ceux qui ne voyent dans son caractère, dans ses habitudes, et dans la tournure d'esprit qu'on s'accorde généralement à lui donner, autre chose que ce qui fait en pareil cas, non point le chef, mais bien le jouet, et finalement la dupe d'un parti.

" Il est impossible à l'homme de rien faire d'excellent " à la hâte."

L'effervescence une fois passée, l'Enthousiasme (qui ne voit que le présent) auroit dû pour le moins attendre la Reflexion, qui demande à haute voix la paix et la stabilité pour l'avenir; et cela d'autant plus que c'est peut-être ce que l'Europe alarmée a quelques droits d'exiger de la FRANCE NOUVELLE.

Les avantages inouis obtenus en trois jours sont d'un si grand prix pour la Liberté praticable et juste, que le premier devoir de la France dans son propre interêt, comme dans celui de la Liberté, étoit de ne rien hazarder de plus, mais de s'assurer la possession définitive de ces avantages, en écoutant les conseils de la justice et de la prudence, que la triste expérience d'un demi siècle auroit dû lui donner.

Que n'a point déja produit en France ce demi siècle pour la Liberté et pour la Gloire, qui n'ait été envahi puis anéanti par mille causes imprevues? D'où vient que les époques énergiques d'un autre révolution jadis si décisive, se soyent éclipsées successivement pour disparoitre toutes, en ne laissant après elles que des regrets, ou des désirs insatiables? Pourquoi donc, en 1830, la liberté constitutionelle en est elle encore réduite à prodiguer le sang et la vie de plus de 3000 de ses enfans, pour ne pouvoir après tout que répéter des axiômes incontestables proclamées en France depuis plus de 40 ans?

Parcequ' on ne tire pas à bale sur les idées; parcequ' alors, en tranchant des têtes, l'on ne tarrissoit point la source d'opinions qui seront éternellement les énnemis implacables de la constitution; et parceque le parti victorieux a toujours laissé échapper sa proie, au lieu de savoir s'en emparer (non pour l'anéantir), mais pour en faire en même tems son esclave constitutionelle et sa force morale.

Pourquoi donc cette fois-ci n'a-t-on pas sçu retenir la Légitimité en bas age (c'est à dire, moins les opinions), qui s'offroit vaincue pour la troisième fois comme victime innocente, pour la forcer, en expiation des crimes liberticides de ses aïeux, à faire enfin tous les sacrifices que le tems et les idées nouvelles lui démandent aujourdhui.

Il nous paroit urgent de rendre cet Enfant à la Constitution, ne seroit ce que pour le soustraire au Jésuitisme, à la rage, et à l'impieté, qui n'ont d'autres forces que celles qu'ils en dérivent, mais qui malheureusement ont avec lui en leur faveur, le nombre des esprits foibles et des consciences timides, savoir, la force encore pesante des siècles passés.

Nous croyons que les Français, en reconnoissant tout autre gouvernement que celui qui leur promet *le plus de stabilité*, *et le moins de chances de guerre pour l'avenir*, ne font que renvoyer à une autre époque (peu éloignée sans doute) la suite de cette longue querelle entre le Droit Divin et le Peuple Souverain; et nous craignons sérieusement que par cette fatalité qui s'attache à toutes les affaires humaines, les malheureux, qui probablement ont cru bien faire de profiter à la hâte du succès des trois journées pour forcer la couronne sur la tête d'Orléans, n'ayent imposés à la France le gouvernement qui lui promet au contraire LE MOINS DE STABILITÉ, ET LE PLUS DE CHANCES DE GUERRE DANS L'AVENIR.

La République même, que ce parti nouveau avoit raison de craindre, exposoit également peut-être à la guerre, sans promettre plus de stabilité; mais du moins elle eut déployé un caractère de force et d'union irrésistible, qui, joint à l'experience du passé, eut probablement obligé l'étranger de la respecter, tant qu'elle ne sortoit point des limites reconnues par les traités.

Le Roi des Français, l'on nous dira, n'est qu'un passeport donné à la République, au moyen duquel son influence fera le tour de l'Europe? Nous répondrons, que cela pouroit peut-être réussir si le Roi de France n'étoit pas en Angleterre.

La présence du Lieuténant-Général le 30 Juillet a bien pu interrompre le combat, en liant d'un côté les mains de la Liberté, et en éloignant le Despotisme de l'autre; mais en montant sur le trône, PHILIPPE I. ENTRE EN LICE AVEC UN TROISIÈME PARTI, qui, en séparant encore plus ce qu'il eut fallu rapprocher une fois pour tout, confonds les plus belles espérances des amis sincères d'une liberté praticable et d'un repos final,—repos qu'il est tems d'obtenir, après 40 ans d'alarmes et de complots tramés par l'un ou par l'autre des deux partis.

TANT QUE LA LIBERTÉ N'AURA PAS ACHEVÉ LA CONQUÈTE DE LA COURONNE L'ÉGITIME, SA VICTOIRE N'EST POINT COMPLÈTE.

Nous ne voyons plus dans le calme soudain qui suivit les trois journées mémorables, qu'une amnestie politique qui doit laisser tous les ordres de l'état dans une incertitude peinible, dont nous nous garderons bien d'accuser le Peuple de Paris, mais dont il faut accuser ceux qui, ayant obtenu après l'action bien audela de ce qu'ils esperoient avant l'action, n'ont cependant point hésité à se servir des élections d'avant, pour décider du sort de la France, tandis que légalement, il ne pouvoit plus dépendre que de la majorité résultante des élections d'après.

Philippe vient d'arréter la Liberté au moment ou les armes bas, et rentrée dans l'ordre, elle avoit le pouvoir d'accomplir le seul acte qui en lui donnant une existence ferme et assurée puisse la rendre désirable, celui de prendre sous sa *tutelle* l'Enfant d'une Princesse aimée du peuple, qui élevé dans les principes liberaux, eut dans peu d'années montré à l'Europe rassurée, les sermens qu'il faut prendre, et les dévoirs qu'il faut remplir, pour être Roi des Français, et CONSERVATEUR LÉGITIME DES LIBERTÉS DU PEUPLE.

Il en seroit résulté que tous les principes incohérens et divergens forcés (pour ainsi dire) de s'amalgamer ensemble dans le creuset de la minorité en tutelle, la source intarissable jusqu' alors de tous vos troubles politiques seroit enfin épuisée; et ce nouveau Trône Constitutionel de bonne foi, fort de tous les élémens dont la Liberté affranchie l'auroit formé, promettroit aux siècles futurs autant et plus de stabilité de fait et d'opinion, que la Liberté seule, ou la Légitimité seule, n'en eurent jamais dans les siècles passés.

Loin de cela, nous ne voyons, à regret, dans la précipitation d'une partie de vos Députés, que dangers de toute espèce pour le présent comme pour l'avenir; la necessité d'une mésure aussi importante prise à la hâte ne nous frape point. Le Peuple des trois journées ne fit que résister avec succès à l'injustice de l'arbitraire: le Parti qui a rompu la lignée est celui qui réellement a commencé une révolution nouvelle; car jusques là ce n'étoit qu'un soulèvement du Peuple, dans la loi, en faveur de sa charte: le but de ce soulèvement une fois accomplis, il falloit s'arréter, il falloit respecter le principe fondamental de stabilité qui fait partie de la constitution, afin d'avoir encore plus de droits, et plus de pouvoir, pour accélerer en avant le principe de mouvement (celui des progrès et de l'amélioration) que le parti prètretàchoit depuis 15 ans de forcer en arrière.

Les interêts nouveaux qui ont entravés la marche naturelle des évènemens (interêts enfautés par une alliance baroque entre la Finance et la Philosophie) qui ont comme forcé la branche cadette sur la trône dans le but principal de soutenir la *Rente*, et de rassurer promptement l'étranger: c'est à dire, ayant peur de la baisse, et peur de la guerre, *n'éviteront ni l'une ni l'autre*, et nous paroissent infiniment plus hazardés et bien plus compromis par la création soudaine d'une illegalité sur le trône, qu'ils n'eussent pu l'être sous une héredité légitime, guidée par un Régent TOUT PUISSANT DANS LA PLACE QUE LES CIRCONSTANCES LUI RESERVOIENT COMME TEL EXCLUSIVEMENT, MAIS FOIBLE ET VACILLANT DANS CELLE DE L'INNOCENCE EXILÉE QU'IL OCCUPE quoique peut-être malgré lui.

Aussi voyons nous que pas plutôt la révolution faite, ce parti nouveau, tremblant devant son propre ouvrage, a senti la nécessité urgente de l'arréter pour ce maintenir lui-même: de là, ces mésures répressives contre un peuple dont le courage et surtout la modération méritoient plus de reconnoissance.

Cette répression ordonnée par l'illégalité est-elle juste? Jusques à quand sera-t-elle éfficace? La Garde Nationale ne se fatiguera-t-elle point d'être sans cesse appelée à comprimer cette Liberté, dont elle dérive elle-même son existence et ses droits? Pousser trop loin de sitôt la séverité répressive contre le Peuple, c'est courir le risque de saper les fondemens même de l'edifice nouveau dont cette Garde a peine organisée vient de sortir : si non le danger de lui donner cette importance et cette force dans l'ordre social, qui changeant son caractère de Garde Civique, transformeroit les braves qui la composent en autant de JANISSAIRES CONSTI-TUTIONNELS dont ce Trône trop foible finira par dépendre.

Le Peuple d'ailleurs peut-il renverser de barrière plus forte dans l'opinion que celle qui souténoit moralement la lignée que ce parti vient de rompre, malgré l'exemple dangereux que c'est donner à ce même peuple contre lequel ont prétend cependant s'être ainsi fortifié. L'on n'hésite point à commettre une grande injustice dans laquelle tous les Trônes sont par force interessés, dans l'espoir de forcer un peuple à discontinuer un désordre qui fut commencé non seulement dans la plus juste des causes, mais dans une cause où l'Europe restoit neutre.

Ce Trône manque totalement de cette force morale si éssentielle au respect qu'il doit commander, que l'usage le plus prudent et le plus sage pour la paix et le bonheur de la France, seroit selon nous d'en déscendre en abdiquant volontairement la couronne pour être Régent de France durant la minorité d'Henry V.

Pour compenser si possible le droit d'héredité, ou sont les forces réelles de Philippe? Peut-on dire qu'il ait pour lui, de bonne foi, l'Armée, la Noblesse, l'Eglise, ou le Peuple? Nous ne le voyons pas. Son seul point d'appui nous paroit être Lafayette, le héro des Républicains:—alliance subite, inattendue, et douteuse: une amitié sincère ne se jure point en hâte. Ce sont deux chefs qui s'embrassent pour la première fois: LA NAISSANCE DE L'UN ÉCLIPSERA LE MÉRITE DE L'AUTRE.

C'est bon pour le moment; mais quelle durée faut-il attendre d'un pacte forcé par les circonstances entre le sang des Rois à 59 ans, et l'éssence du Républicanisme à 75? entre deux éxistences divergentes, qui malgré quelques rapports momentanés dans le siècle passé, n'en eurent aucun dans celui-ci avant Juillet 1830.

Si, comme nous le croyons, Lafayette est son plus ferme appui, l'age de ce héros seroit une faute, car Lafayette mourant aujourdhui, Philippe tombe demain, avant que le tems, seule sanction possible à défaut de l'autre, puisse la donner au trône que vouz venez d'élever. Aussi nous paroitil tout bonnement remplir provisoirement un vide, là ou d'un consentement tacite chacun désire pour le moment qu'il-y-ait quelque chose dans l'éspoir que l'Europe sera rassurée. Élu par un fort petit nombre qui lui-même étoit illégal, bù sont les droits de Philippe pour se croire réellement et longtems Roi des Français?

Son apparition soudaine nous semble créer de nouveaux obstacles, sans en aplanir aucun des anciens: il obstrue la marche naturelle des evènemens; il embrouille les idées, il confond tous les principes, et quoiqu'il ne puisse faire autrement que d'obéir au parti qui la placé si haut, il est un peu là comme envers, et contre tous;—en même tems qu'il a trompé la liberté encore sanglante, il trahit une légitimité innocente dont il étoit le protecteur naturel, et le moyen de reconcilier deux partis aux prises depuis près d'un demi siècle, n'est certes pas celui de les outrager tous les deux.

Ce qui en outre est réellement à regretter, ce qui pouroit même exciter la vengeance des amis vertueux et sincèrs de la Liberté, de tous ceux dont le cœur libéral palpitoit de contentement, et bondissoit de joie, en apprenant que la JUSTICE présidoit au carnage, c'est qu'il a terni en quelque sorte l'éclat des trois journées dont le brillant ne peut reparoitre que par une abdication volontaire, seul moyen de restituer moralement au Peuple de Paris la gloire et le noble mérite d'une magnanimité généreuse qui fait l'admiration du monde, et que la pusillanimité d'un parti s'éforce en vain de lui râvir.

Considérant néanmoins que la présence du Lieutenant-Général fut un bien, nous faisons des vœux pour que son bon génie le préserve également de la fureur des Ultras Royalistes comme de la turbulence d'un Civisme Radical.

L'on nous répond à l'illégalité du trône, que c'est toujours la minorité énergique qui fait les révolutions; que le tems ensuite les sanctionne, et que c'est la meilleure de toutes les légitimités. Nous dirons à cela, d'abord, que la minorité qui vient de placer Philippe sur le trône, a manifesté, nous croyons, plus de pusillanimité que d'énergie: cette dernière qualité n'appartient qu'au Peuple de Paris, qui certes avant l'action ne songeoit point au Duc d'Orléans. Et quant à la sanction que donne le tems, nous observerons simplement, que voici déja plus de 40 ans de passés, et qu'il a fallu se battre à outrance il y a seulement 60 jours, pour ce premier axiome de la Liberté, EGALITÉ DEVANT LA LOI; que si l'humanité étoit en possession de tout ce que les minorités énergiques ont déja fait pour elle, il n'y auroit guère plus de révolutions à désirer.

D'ailleurs nous n'en sommes plus là, ce dont il s'agit aujourdhui en France, c'est bien plutôt de savoir COMMENT CON-SERVER LA LIBERTÉ FOUR EN FAIRE UNE SOURCE CONSTANTE DE JUSTICE, DE BONHEUR, ET DE PAIX: car autrement elle ne vaut pas une seule des gouttes du sang, ni une seule des larmes qu'elle a déja fait répandre, et le plutôt qu'elle seroit bannie de la terre seroit le mieux.

Le plus éssentiel nous paroit donc de parvenir enfin à éviter scrupuleusement tout ce qui a pu flétrir et anéantir cette Liberté sans cesse renaissante, pour être sans cesse étranglée au berceau, souvent même par ceux qui lui avoient donné la vie. C'est dans cette idée que nous reprocherons toujours au parti nouveau d'avoir été assez LIBERTICIDE pour oser commencer une révolution nouvelle au moment même ou lu solution de l'ancienne étoit accomplie par le succès éclatant de trois journées.

C'est donc un PRINCIPE CONSERVATEUR qu'il faut chercher; et nous nous trompons fort si ce principe conservateur ne se trouve pas dans cet Enfant repoussé injustement *peut-étre*, mais à coup sur impolitiquement, sans raison et sans réflexion, la Liberté renaissante ayant bien plus besoin de lui pour se légitimer en Europe, que lui n'a besoin d'elle pour exister avec le rang et les titres que le tems ne peut lui râvir.

Dans Henry V. seul, git ce PRINCIPE CONSERVATEUR, car

c'est avec lui seul, que la Liberté peut enfin conclure cette alliance si désirable d'une marche progressive et continue vers l'amélioration, avec un cadre stationaire pour en modérer la course, sans créer des élémens de turbulence, et de méfiance au dedans; sans laisser au dehors des sources de complotes, d'intrigues, et de vengeances.

DE LA LÉGITIMITÉ DANS LA CONSTITUTION.

L'époque actuelle, où la caractère de la légitimité qui s'est offerte, est celui de l'innocence, nous paroit éssentiellement celle fixée par le destin pour fondre ensemble des opinions opposées, puisqu'elles sont à présent comme nulles du côté de l'héritier légitime. Cela nous paroit si frappant, qu'il est difficile d'éxpliquer par quelle fatalité l'on a refusé de profiter d'une aussi belle occasion d'en finir. Seroit-il possible que ce fut uniquement à cause de cette haine vulgaire pour le mot Légitimité? Nous admettons, avec ses adversaires, que ce n'est qu'un acte de successibilité qui s'est exercé en tout et partout depuis que le monde est monde, sur les nations comme sur les troupeaux; mais que les peuples n'étant plus pour les rois ce que les troupeaux sont encore pour leurs maitres, l'héritier d'un trône qui n'avoit anciennement que la peine de naitre pour s'y asséoir, ne peut y monter aujourdhui qu'à certaines conditions: ces conditions sont les chartes et constitutions qu'ils font serment d'observer; combinaisons du moyen age inconnues à l'antiquité, et qui font aujourdhui les DROITS DES PEUPLES.

Mais de ce que les chartes et les constitutions ne peuvent admettre qu'une *légitimité conditionelle*, il n'en résulte nullement qu'en changeant de nature elle ait cessé d'être indispensable, comme loi fondamentale, dans toute societé humaine civilisée; c'est sur elle seule que reposent tous les autres droits de l'ordre social: et par cette raison même que les droits des peuples sont multipliées par les chartes qu'ils ont conquises avec le tems sur l'absolutisme, nous considérons LA LÉGITIMITÉ CONDITIONELLE bien plus précieuse pour le citoyen dans le régime constitutionnel qu'elle n'a jamais pu l'être (sans conditions) pour les sujets d'un despot, puisqu'alors elle étoit tout pour le trône et rien pour le troupeau.

A tout prendre donc, ce mot ne doit plus faire peur; son tems n'est point encore passé, comme celui des moines; elle est seulement modifiée par la constitution: sans elle point de stabitité, point de limite au besoin du mouvement qui agite sans cesse les societés modernes, point de confiance, et point de crédit: or, sans ce dernier, que deviendront l'industrie et le commerce, qui font aujourdhui les sources fécondes où tous les gouvernemens puisent les moyens qui sont la mésure de leurs forces.

Lorsqu'un peuple s'avance rapidement au milieu de nations qui restent en arrière, ses succès et la stabilité des nouveaux droits acquis dépendent plus ou moins de la forme et de l'opinion des autres gouvernemens; l'influence générale de tous est réciproque pour chacun: et surtout depuis que des progrès extraordinaires dans la rapidité des communications, joints à la tolérance pour tous les cultes, tendent à ne faire de l'Europe qu'une seule grande famille, et qu'il n'y a pour ainsi dire plus de distances, cette influence réciproque demande encore plus de considération.

Il ne faut pas se dissimuler que la Liberté ne soit encore foible; elle bien est plus dans les idées et dans les mots, qu'elle n'est dans les choses; ses ennemis en Europe ont encore de leur côté la force des siècles passés, "qui ayant produits le " siècle présent n'ont point encore cèdés toute leur autorité " sur lui," et la Liberté d'aujourdhui doit réclamer pour s'affermir la Légitimité du tems passé, subordonnée aux conditions exigées par le tems présent, au lieu de se croire assez fort en Europe pour se passer déja de la force morale que cette dernière donne à la societé.

D'ailleurs, quand elle n'est plus forcée sur un peuple comme Droit Divin, quand les Français avoient l'option de la prendre ou de la refuser, n'eut-il pas été prudent et sage d'éxaminer, avec calme et réflexion, son influence sur les progrès et sur la permanence d'une liberté reconquise? Ne seroit-ce point donner cette fois-ci à la Liberté une force nouvelle? Peut-on affirmer que ce ne soit point précisement cette force là MIEUX ENTENDUE, et DONNÉE DE BONNE FOI, qui lui a toujours manqué en France? Mais si la hâte et la précipitation doivent décider de tout, peut-on en attendre d'autres résultats que l'incertitude et la turbulence?

DE LA RECONNOISSANCE DE PHILIPPE PAR L'ETRANGER.

Philippe lui-même ne vient-il pas de prouver son inquietude par l'empressement qu'il a manifesté de se faire reconnoitre de puissances étrangères avant d'être plus affermi chez lui? Au centre des élémens nouveaux dont il est entouré, cela nous paroit un manque de civisme qu'on doit lui reprocher; autant faudroit-il dire, "Je " chancelle; venez vite me soutenir avant que je ne " tombe." Il découvre une incertitude anti-nationale qui nous paroit d'autant plus inepte que Louis XVIII. et Charles X. ayant été en grande partie detestés du peuple à cause des baïonettes étrangères qui décidèrent la Restauration en 1814, Philippe auroit du s'en montrer plus indépendent qu'eux. Cette confirmation demandée en toute hâte du déhors est une preuve de foiblesse au dedans. D'ailleurs, à tout prendre, ce n'est qu'une reconnoissance negative, car les souverains du continent ont tellement peur du retour de la République Française, que la couronne placée sur une tête quelconque eut toujours été pour le moment la bien-venue.

Si Bonaparte souverain absolu, avec toute sa gloire et toute sa puissance, dénominoit le trône " un morceau de " planche couvert de vélours," quelle épithète donneronsnous à un trône non seulement tronqué par la constitution, mais sans gloire, sans puissance, sans volonté, et dépourvu de l'atribut le plus éssentiel au régime constitutionnel le droit d'héredité.

Sans la Stabilité d'un Roi fort, et légitime, les Réformes de l'Eglise ne peuvent s'accomplir.

Les nombreuses réformes civiles et religieuses qui sont indispensables au maintien des institutions libérales exigent que le gouvernement soit de bonne foi dans une marche fixe, hardie, bien determinée, sans la moindre incertitude surtout, sur la stabilité du chef suprème. Philippe manque de prise sur les esprits parcequ' *il y a trop loin de Jemmappes à* 1830, pour que l'énergie de la jeune France (de 20 à 30 ans) soit émue par le nom d'une bataille ignorée des uns, et oubliée par les autres ; mais il n'y avoit rien d'autre à dire, et valoit mieux peut-être crier *Jemmappes!* que de rester court.

Le nombre des désappointés, surtout parmi la jeunesse (que chaque printems rend plus hardie), doit donc être immense, et son petit parti (qui cependant comprends dit-on beaucoup de Banquiers et quelques Philosophes) craignant également les deux grands partis de libéraux Républicains et de Royalistes purs, en est réduits à l'envoyer sans but et sans décision. Sa position est nécessairement tel qu'il ne peut agir sans risquer de heurter trop fort pour résister lui-même au centre coup: redoutant également les hommes distingués qui par leurs opinions se trouvent endeça ou audelà du système de moderation dont il ne peut sortir sans ébranler son trône, il est forcément limité dans le choix de ses ministres au parti même dont il tient la couronne, et prive ainsi la nation des services de tous les talens qui ne lui sont pas exclusivement dévoués.

Les ressorts qui ont été tendus au plus haut degré par le nerf du civisme des trois journées, vont donc se relâcher au point de ne pouvoir plus servir, à moins que quelque mauvais génie ne réusisse à les adapter aux leviers de l'anarchie.

Cette force de volonté morale, au lieu d'être ainsi negligée, auroit du se transfuser de l'ame du peuple dans celle de L'EXECUTIF L'ÉGITIME, pour diriger contre Rome la foudre des réformes, pour anéantir cette tyranie sacerdotale qui sera toujours l'ennemi des droits de l'homme et de la RAISON. Car c'est par le Trône seulement que vous pourez résister avec succès aux prétentions liberticides de l'Autel.

Philippe d'Orléans étant patriote et libéral, est un être parfait comme Régent de la France actuelle, et soutenu par les droits d'Henry V., il seroit assez fort, non seulement pour contenir toute éffervescence probable qui seroit mal dirigée, mais assez puissant pour faire enfin du Roi des Français LE CHEF SUPRÈME DE L'ÉGLISE GALLICANE.

Faut-il donc un autre demi siècle encore pour vous convaincre que la réforme religieuse doit précéder les grandes réformes civiles et politiques, et n'est-il pas tems que le bel exemple donné par Henry VIII. d'Angleterre (ce premier Roi radical de la Chrètieneté) soit suivi par celui des Français. S'arréter dans cette révolution avant d'avoir accompli une séparation aussi éssentielle au nouvel ordre des choses vers lequel tendent tous les peuples du continent, ce n'est rien moins que remettre en problême ce que vient d'être si positivement gagné sur l'arbitraire; c'est vouloir aveuglément donner le tems aux pieux ennemis de la constitution d'aiguiser leurs poignards et de préparer leur poison.

DE DEUX ABDICATIONS POSSIBLES, L'UNE EST INDISPENSABLE.

De deux choses donc également salutaires pour donner de la force d'un côté et pour rétablir la confiance de l'autre, l'une nous paroit indispensablement urgente—

Ou l'abdication d'Henry V. en faveur de Philippe; Ou l'abdication de Philippe en faveur d'Henry V.

La première n'etant nullement probable puisque rien au monde ne pouroit obliger la famille de Charles X. de renoncer à sa dernière ressource (celle du tems) nous ne parlerons que des avantages de la seconde, comme du seul moyen de réparer la grande faute commise par le parti que nous blàmons hautement d'avoir hazardé sans réflexion la paix de l'Europe et le bonheur de la France en jugeant possible de faire en toute hâte quelque chose d'excellent et de durable, car nous n'accusons les intentions ni les motifs de personne.

Une source d'inquietudes et d'alarmes dont nous ne pouvons nous défendre depuis que le Lieutenant Général s'est laissé faire Roi des Français, est celle que nait de l'impuissance de son parti de jamais anéantir les droits de deux autres jeunes prétendans à la couronne appelés par leur partisans respectifs HENRY V. et NAPOLÉON II., ayant l'un comme l'autre une abdication en leur faveur, et qui seulement par foiblesse sont forcés au repos, mais dont la posterité à défaut d'eux-mêmes menacera longtems de troubler la France et l'Europe par des guerres civiles ou étrangères: à moins cependant que cette couronne ne soit qu'un dépot entre les mains de Philippe, comme l'on seroit un peu tenté de le croire d'après la manière dont il a parlé tout ce qu'il a dit, et d'après l'acte qui consigne aux archives de la Chambre des Paires l'abdication de Charles X. en faveur du Duc de Bordeaux sans que l'on ait même exigé depuis du monarque infatué qui s'est laissé cheoir une abdication entière et suns réserve aucune.

Le Peuple est-il satisfait de ce que les trois journées lui ont valu? Le Clergé est-il tranquillement soumis et consentant? Peut-on dire que l'Armée soit unanime, et de bonne foi attachée au nouveau gouvernement? La Garde Nationale même seroit-elle aussi dévouée à Philippe sans le parti Lafayette? Et dans 15 ou 20 mois, comme dans 10 ou 15 ans, la Fortune capricieuse ne peut-elle pas faire paroitre, successivement ou simultanément, l'armée d'Henry V., l'armée de la République, l'armée de Napoléon II., et l'armée d'Orléans, se disputant la souveraineté, sans parler de ces hordes étrangères, amies des uns, énnemies des autres, que naguere il vous a fallu payer pour évacuer une partie du territoire Français tout en sacrifiant l'autre.

Ce que nous avons vu depuis 40 ans ne doit-il pas faire croire probable dans l'avenir, ce qui pour le moment même peut paroitre impossible? UNE L'ÉGITIMITÉ TRAHIE, UNE LIBERTÉ TROMPÉE, SONT DEUX SOURCES, DE VEN-GEANCES QUE LES SERMENS NE PEUVENT TARIR. Un peuple mécontent renverse le lendemain l'idole de la vieille : et Philippe peut un jour appeler Henry V. contre ce même peuple dont *il est Roi*, tout comme l'armée peut un jour appeler Napoléon II. contre Philippe; car le tems ne connoit point de prodiges. Lorsqu'après une crise semblable, caracterisée surtout par le civisme le plus énergique, en même tems que le plus juste, et le plus moderé après la victoire qui ne se soit jamais manifesté sur la terre, la RAISON désire conserver à l'état, l'influence du trône; mais que non contente de deux Prétendans à la couronne, la Précipitation irréfléchie veut néanmoins entrer en lice avec un troisième, l'ordre et la confiance ne sauroient trouver place parmi les inquietudes, les appréhensions, et le mal-aise des esprits, flottans sans cesse entre l'esperance du mieux et la crainte du pire.

Le but éssentiel de la résistance des trois journées étant de réduire le pouvoir et les forces réelles du tròne, *il ne falloit pas faire une révolution tout de suite après qui le dépouille également de toute sa force morale*, c'est vouloir courir le risque qu'il n'y reste qu'un honnête homme: chose fort précieuse sans doute dans la societé, mais rien moins que suffisante pour un trône nouveau.

Les opinions et la bonne foi de l'Europe ne sont encore que des conjectures (jàdis souvent trompeuses); toujours devons-nous présumer que PHILIPPE RÉGENT auroit droit à plus de confiance en elles que *Philippe Roi* ne doit y prétendre, et cela non point tant à cause du volcan populaire qui vient de calciner en trois jours le Droit Divin du Royalisme (car cette fois-ci du moins LA JUSTICE ET L'HONNEUR MARCHOIENT DE FRONT AVEC LA LIBERTÉ), mais à cause de l'Enfant si injustement répoussé par le Prince même de sa famille, qui devoit être son protecteur envers et contre tous; cet Enfant néanmoins ayant le rositif de son côté, laisse à Philippe L'INCERTAIN, c'est à dire en politique, un élément de troubles et de désordres.

En pareil cas, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une couronne, les cris de l'innocence injustement éxilée sont à peine sensibles dans les commencemens, mais grondant ensuite par intervale comme la foudre dans le lointain, finissent par faire plus de bruit que mille tonnerres: parceque dans l'incertitude générale qui en est la conséquence inévitable, la conscience des uns, la cupidité des autres, et l'interêt réel de plusieurs, finissent en se réunissant par mettre les masses en mouvement; perspective peu rassurante pour un avenir illimité dans le course ordinaire des choses.

A Vienne en particulier l'on peut fort bien y prétendre (avec le tems) que les déplaçans de 1814 étant à leur tour déplacés, les droits de celui qui en fut alors privé se trouvent par cela même retablis dans toute leur force: autre perspective, moins alarmante sans doute au présent, mais qu'il faut classer dans les possibles, en attendant qu'elle se place dans les probables, pour se raprocher de la REALITÉ: en politique, les choses dont on parle le moins, sont souvent celles dont on s'occupe le plus.

DE LA GUERRE INÉVITABLE, ET DE SES CHANCES.

Dans ce moment nous croyons bien qu'il n'y a d'autre coalition contre la France que celle des opinions, mais quels sont les faits? Une fermentation générale existe en Europe. Si tous les rois n'osent attaquer, ils doivent tous désirer secrètement d'en avoir les motifs et les moyens. Des corps d'armée sont en mouvement; les arsenaux sont mis au complet; les forteresses sont mises sur le pied de guerre; les garnisons sont augmentées; et si les troubles de la Hollande, de la Peninsule, de l'Italie, et de l'Allemagne, deviennent (comme cela n'est que trop probable) un prétexte suffisant pour faire passer une seule frontière à la force armée, l'honneur Français est compromis : ayant indirectement encouragés les peuples voisins à réclamer leurs droits (réels ou imaginaires n'importe) la France ne doit, et ne peut tolerer nulle part l'intervention étrangère contre la liberté d'aucun peuple. Dans cette idée la guerre nous paroit tôt ou tard inévitable, à moins que par une fatalité dont l'histoire n'offre pas d'exemple, OU PAR UNE INTERVENTION SURNATURELLE, tous les rois soyent simultanément disposés à cèder à tous les peuples.

La guerre une fois commencée, il faut bien qu'elle finisse; et lorsqu'il se trouve d'un côté une *légitimité suspendue*, les chances incalculables peuvent tourner en sa faveur, non point toujours à cause d'elle, mais souvent, faute de mieux, c'est du moins quelque chose sur quoi la pensée peut s'arrêter, cela abrège toujours des négotiations autrement interminables; les nations sépuisent, les gouvernemens se fatiguent, et les partis subdivisés par des interêts devenues contraires prenant avec le tems plus d'indifference que d'animosité, chacun demande la paix "quand "même."

Nous ne voyons donc dans cette élévation injuste et précipitée de Philippe aucune stabilité intérieure pour la France, ni pour l'Europe aucune espérance de paix dans l'avenir: or dans l'état actuel des choses, les chances qui peuvent un jour réaliser les prétentions d'Henry V. ou de Napoléon II. ont cela de désesperant, de terrible même, pour l'humanité: que si jamais eux, ou leurs déscendans, réussissent par la force à reprendre la couronne, adieu chartes constitutionnelles, adieu institutions et administrations liberales, qui déja ont causées tant de malheurs! n'ayant point été parties à la confection de vos nouvelles loix, n'ayant prètés aucuns sermens, quelle garantie avez vous qu'ils ne soyent l'un ou l'autre aussi absolus que le canon qui les aura ramené.

France trop heureuse! quelle ne seroit point alors

ta gloire et ta félicité? Docile et soumise aux conseils paternels du plus petitement profond, mais du plus profondément rusé des ministres du monde, de ce GRAND ÉTEIGNOIR DE L'EUROPE, tu jouirois probablement de ce bonheur suprème dont la source inépuisable se trouve dans ce fameux Catéchisme Politique à l'usage des Ecoles Primaires, qui fait depuis quelques années les delices de l'Autriche et de l'Italie, et sur lequel se fonde l'espoir de leur génération naissante: en effet que la Raison et la Liberté sont foibles et insipides devant la charme et la simplicite des paroles suivantes!

" D. Quel est le devoir des Sujèts ?

" R. Les Sujèts doivent se conduire envers le Roi comme des Esclaves " envers leurs Maitres.

" D. Pourquoi des Sujéts doivent-ils se conduire envers le Roi comme " des Esclaves ?

" R. Parceque le Souverain est leur Maitre; et que sa puissance s'étend autant sur leurs biens, que sur leurs personnes."

Peut-on refuser son admiration à la haute sublimité de ce laconisme? Peut-on lui préferer cette charte ennnyeuse et fade, qui n'en finit pas? Ah, coquine de France! tous les peuples sont agités par le succès des trois journées, tous les trônes sont ébranlées par une lignée de rois rompue, mais quelle ne seroit point l'effet de la jalousie des peuples et des rois de la terre en apprénant le retour d'un Prétendant pour mettre ainsi le comble à ton bonheur intellectuel?

Plaisanterie à part, qui oseroit affirmer que ce retour soit impossible ?

Deux Enfans de 9 et 19 ans, avec 50 et 40 ans devant eux pour l'age des passions, de l'ambition, de la gloire, et des intrigues, (lesquels ont souvent donnés des droits au mortel audacieux qui n'en avoit point) ne peuvent manquer de saisir l'occasion (ou de la faire naitre si elle ne se présente pas) de tenter du moins, si non de regagner, le rétablissement des droits dont le sort seul les a privé. La carrière de Bonaparte (carrière de gloire et de répentir) nous paroit souvent un rêve. Combien de gens sont à peine revenus de l'étonnement que produisit en 1814 " la 19^{me} année de mon regne?" Louis XVIII. cependant ne mourut-il pas sur son trône, et n'entendonsnous pas déja les amis de tenèbres parler de la charte alors octroyée comme de la plus grande faute du siècle?

Tandis que si Philippe avoit assez de grandeur d'ame pour déscendre du trône ou on le mis, dans la RÉGENCE qui est sa place, la France seroit plus unanime, et l'Europe rassurée, puisque la Liberté victorieuse, en s'emparant de l'Enfant dont ni le tems, ni encore moins les phrases ne peuvent jamais anéantir les droits, donneroit ainsi à la France celui des deux Prétendans qui fais disparoitre l'autre, car dès lors Napoléon II. auroit à combattre et à vaincre, non seulement la Légitimité de l'ancien régime, mais aussi la force centuplée de la Liberté d'aujourdhui.

La Liberté Constitutionnelle illégalement arrètée réclame donc l'Enfant d'une Légitimité parjure pour marcher avec plus de sécurité dans les Réformes Civiles et Religieuses qu'un Avenir moralement incompatible avec le Passé, exige impérieusement du Présent.

Expliquons nous: Si en apparence nous demandons ce qui plairoit aux énnemis déclarés de toute liberté, à ces bigots superstitieux, a ces hypocrites éffrontés, qui ne se pressent autour de l'étendart légitime que pour l'entrainer par fanatisme dans des voies iniques opposées à celles du bonheur général; c'est que dans leur aveuglement ces malheureux ne voyent point que cette Légitimité vient de perdre en trois jours tout ce qui la rendoit rédoutable à la Constitution: plus clairvoyans ils comprendroient qu'avec Philippe sur le trône, leur *idole* a du moins toujours l'espoir de reparoitre un jour telle qu'ils la désirent, c'est à dire, plus absolue et plus vindicative que jamais, et c'est précisement ce qui nous fait trembler d'inquietude; tandis qu'avec Philippe Régent, leur *idole* abattue et moralement mutilée, sans pouvoir arbitraire, leur seroit enlevée, pour devenir ainsi transformée, le plus ferme appui des libertés constitutionnelles de la nation.

Nous n'avons encore entendu aucune objection *fondéc* contre l'héritier naturel du trône, et nous ne pouvons en concevoir aucune.

Né depuis la Réstauration, cet Enfant a du moins deux qualités négatives en sa faveur : de n'avoir jamais connu l'ancien régime (dont nous sommes nous-mêmes les énnemis jurés), et de n'avoir (vu son age) aucune opinion quelconque de formée. Né sous la Charte, il appartient à la Constitution ; innocent des crimes de ses aïeux envers le peuple et ses libertés, aucune objection contre lui ne sauroit être personnelle; et si sa famille est justement abhorrée par la RAISON, cette RAISON n'est point assez injuste pour être son énnemie à lui.

L'on diroit presque que le Destin (cette force inconnue qui régit l'univers) semble vous indiquer cet Orphelin comme le seul être au monde qui réunisse (par son age, par son innocence, et par les évènemens merveilleux qui forçant une double abdication lui ont ouvert avant son tems, par le fer d'un assassin, le chemin du trône) toutes les conditions requises pour transfuser une fois pour tout la révolution dans le Trône, et le bonnet rouge dans la couronne : car nous ne saurions admettre que la Liberté puisse faire une paix durable avec tout autre que le parti identique dont la fole extravagance vient de la forcer encore une fois d'avoir récours aux armes. Jusqu'ici nous voyons seulement la Liberté se reposant sans ses lauriers (plus ou moins garottée), et ce parti identique éloigné par l'éxil, sans garantie quelconque que la Liberté ne rompe ses liens pour marcher seule et sans frein, comme sans garantie contre le retour de l'exilé.

Celui qui occupe illégalement un trône constitutionnel n'a point à sa disposition les moyens de s'y maintenir que commande sans peine l'usurpateur absolu : sous ce dernier la presse est muëtte; il permet à ses sujèts la respiration et la digestion à condition qu'ils ne pensent ni ne parlent, et la moindre opposition est à l'instant même sevèrement punie : mais sous le premier la PRESSE dévient une puissance dans l'état, qu'il faut souffrir et ménager, parcequ'elle est l'organe naturelle de tous les genres de mécontentemens.

L'opposition souvent violente mais toujours permise dans un tel régime, peut puiser ses motifs dans une source hors de la constitution, et le moyen d'abord occulte dont elle se sert ne devient réellement ostensible que lorsque sure de sa préponderance dans Chambres, où à défaut, DE SA FORCE DANS LES RUES, il est trop tard pour résister, et l'illégalité succombe devant une opposition énergique, faute du droit que donne la légitimité de punir le crime de haute trahison; la minorité sous la régence éloignoit toute inquietude.

Sous la régence du Duc d'Orleans, dont la patriotisme ne laisse rien à désirer, l'éducation du Prince confiée à des hommes du jour (et non à ceux des siècles passés) seroit dirigé d'après des principes de justice, de libéralité, de bonne foi, et de véritable pieté, qui seuls peuvent le rendre digne du haut rang qui lui est reservé; mais cependant auquel il aspirera toujours lorsmême que privé de tous ces avantages, s'il est malheureusement trop tard pour réparer une faute aussi dangereuse dans ses conséquences. Abandonné comme il l'est à présent au pouvoir d'un bigotisme fanatique, nous faisons des vœux pour que le bon génie de la France la préserve à jamais de son retour comme homme, si la RAISON et l'interêt veritable de la Liberté Constitutionnelle n'ont plus assez d'empire sur les esprits pour le rétablir au plutôt comme enfant.

DU DRAPEAU NATIONAL.

Après la victoire, l'objet le plus désirable pour la Liberté c'est le maintien de l'ordre et de la paix : cette Liberté n'est qu'une chimère si elle n'est accompagnée du calme et des moyens d'éffectuer les réformes dont le besoin urgent a donné au peuple de Paris cette force inouïe de volonté morale qui renversoit et brisoit toute opposition; la turbulence au dedans et la guerre au déhors sont incompatibles avec les améliorations. Les couleurs nationales ont éte reconquises; mais aux yeux des rois qui veulent encore ne se faire croire tels de leurs peuples qu'en vertu du Droit Divin, le pavillon tricolor (qui jàdis fit trembler tous les trônes) annoncera toujours l'énnemi, car pas plutôt n'a-t-il été reconquis par LA JUSTICE et l'honneur, que *l'injustice* prétends s'en parer pour se maintenir.

Henry V. seul peut légitimer de bonne foi ce drapeau en Europe; il deviendroit sous lui, et par suite de l'héroisme et de la modération qui l'ont regagné, non seulement l'emblême de la liberté et du courage qu'il fut toujours, mais celui de la justice, de la générosité, et de l'honneur, pour mieux confondre tous ses adversaires, si tant est qu'il put encore en avoir.

E

UN TRÔNE ILLÉGAL ET CHANCELANT NE POUVANT SE PASSER DE L'APPUI D'UN CLERGÉ DOMINANT, EST FORCÉMENT OBLIGÉ DE MAINTENIR UNE INFLUENCE SACERDOTALE OPPOSÉE AUX PROGRÈS DES CONNOIS-SANCES.

Les principes éssentiellement libéraux doivent diriger et dominer dans les grandes réformes CIVILES et RELI-GIEUSES dont les peuples ont besoin: ces principes se developeront et s'appliqueront avec bien plus de fermeté, surtout plus tranquillement, sous une Régence légitime et reconnue de bonne foi, qu'ils ne peuvent être prudenment tolerés, ou manifestés ouvertement en toute sécurité, sous un Roi fait à la hâte, et reconnu de même, dont le trône nous paroit déja s'ébranler par suite de l'incertitude qu'il a fait naitre, à cause du manque total de confiance dans sa stabilité. La marche indécise des hommes choisis pour l'administrer en est la preuve.

D'ou vient que les premiers citoyens qui furent appelés au ministère après cette révolution, semblent hésiter à chaque pas sans but et sans décision? D'ou vient qu'ils sont foible *comme ministres*, quand le tems veut la force? Nous croyons en voir la cause dans ce qui fait cependant leur eloge *comme hommes*; c'est qu'ils sont autant en avant de la nation par la hauteur de leurs vues, par la pureté de leurs intentions, et par la profondeur de leurs connoissances, que les ex-ministres de Charles X. étoient en arrière de cette même nation par leur ineptie, leur ignorance totale des hommes et des choses, et par leur indifférence coupable au bien ou au mal, au juste ou à l'injuste, pourvu qu'ils parvinsent à leur but.

Pourquoi les paroles de deux des ministres actuels (Septembre, 1830), dictées par la raison et par l'amour du bien, ne produisent-elles aucun effet sur les masses ni sur

les individus? Helas! n'est que le monde imaginaire de ceux qui les prononcent n'est point encore le monde réel; c'est qu'il faut gouverner ce qui est, et non pas ce que nous voudrions qui fut; et que ces paroles addressées à l'intelligence ne tombant que sur des conceptions trop limitées pour les recevoir, ou sur des interêts qui les répoussent, les uns ne peuvent pas, et les autres ne veulent pas les comprendre: peut-être aussi leur foiblesse est-elle causée par cet espèce d'equivoque inséparable de la position hazardée et difficile, DES MINISTRES D'UN ROI FAIT PAR EUX-MÊMES, qui ne pensent forcément qu'à des moyens de conciliation, au lieu d'être à même de comprendre qu'après une crise semblable il faut détruire de fond en comble cette influence pernicieuse du Sacerdoce sur l'administration civile, pour reconstruire sur des bases différentes un édifice social complètement neuf: mais pour réussir en cela, même pour oser l'entreprendre, il ne suffit pas du tour de Jarnac que nous fais sauter de Jemmappes 1792 sur le trône de 1830. Il falloit réclamer l'innocence que le ciel plaçoit sous la garantie d'un patriotisme connu, et comme reservé pour l'occasion depuis 38 ans, au lieu de se laisser placer en obstacle, devant la plus juste des causes que le monde entier ne cessera jamais d'admirer.

DE L'IMPORTANCE D'UNE NOUVELLE CHARTE CONSTITUTIONNELLE.

Le tems que devoit necessairement durer la Régence eut été précisement celui qui est indispensable pour réviser en paix et à loisir, pour annuler, récomposer, et mieux allier l'esprit et la lettre, les principes et les termes, d'une charte nouvelle infiniment plus libérale, plus claire, et plus précise, que le replâtrage fait à la hâte qui a déja paru. L'Europe agitée demande aujourdhui à la FRANCE Nouvelle des institutions qui soyent une garanti du repos: rien moins qu'un chef-d'œuvre de sagesse et d'expérience humaine qui determine bien, et qui fixe à jamais (si possible) les devoirs constitutionnels des rois et les des réformes désirables: un chef-d'œuvre qui soit comme un beaume salutaire pour guérir cette incertitude politique dont tous les peuples sont malades; car ils le sont tous, et sans une vice réfer quelque part qui les affecte tous, l'on est forcé de convenir que l'agitation causée par cette fièvre civique ne sauroit être aussi générale que nous la voyons.*

C'est donc ce vice, cette partie usée et abusée de la societé Européenne, qu'il faut radicalement extirper: or pour réussir en cela il ne suffit plus de belles théories dans un rouleau de parchemin, il faut bien quelques années de législation pratique (seule vraie mésure des théories): ce n'est pas assez de bien définer les droits et les devoirs, ce n'est pas même tout de les faire reconnoitre (le serment d'aujourdhui est au moins le 12^{me}); l'éssentiel nous paroit être d'en assurer la permanence dans leur juste application, SANS PLUS MONTRER AU PEUPLE LA LETTRE, POUR LAISSER À D'AUTRES L'INTERPRETATION.

Ce grand travail, qui demande pour le moins la confiance et la force qui découlent naturellement du pouvoir légitime, seroit consolidé par un Trone Constitutionnel de bonne foi, résuscité pour ainsi dire avec la majorité du Prince sous des formes nouvelles, plus conformés aux idées et aux usages du jour, brillant de justice, de pureté, et de la

• Ce VICE nous paroit avoir ses racines dans ce qu'il nous reste en Europe de cette usurpation temporelle de Rome sur tous les gouvernemens, en vertu de laquelle les ministres de la Tyranie Politique et ceux de la Tyranie d'une fausse Réligion ont toujours réunis leurs moyens pour opprimer le monde. simplicité d'élémens neufs sans aucun alliage, afin que le jésuitisme d'un confesseur, ni la bigoterie du moyen age, ne puissent jamais s'y introduire peu à peu et sans bruit pour l'entretenir sourdement d'interêts opposées à la liberté, et toujours contraires à cette noble franchise, à cette conftance sincère, qui doivent caracteriser aujourdhui le chef suprème d'une grande nation.

COMMENT SE PRÉSENTE EN FRANCE LA LÉGITIMITÉ DE 1830?

Dans les circonstances actuelles, où il est de la plus haute importance pour la France de ne pas reperdre ce qui vient d'être si miraculeusement gagné sur l'Arbitraire; où il est impératif a tout être pensant et réfléchissant, a tout ami de l'humanité, de contribuer à la conservation de l'ordre et de la paix, de laisser le moins possible aux caprices de la Fortune, la RAISON semble prononcer pour cet Enfant, dont la légitimité n'est plus forceé comme un droit, mais qui bien au contraire se présente (selon nous) dans l'urgence de l'état des choses comme une sauve garde, comme un bouclier, comme une armure invulnerable dont la France se revêtit en présence de l'Europe surprise et agitée; afin de prendre sur le terrain qu'elle occupe une attitude plus imposante au déhors, et plus rassurante au dedans; pour avoir le tems en toute sécurité de créer sa charte constitutionelle, afin qu'elle soit désormais non seulement une vérité, MAIS UNE VÉRITÉ PRATICABLE ET PERMANENTE; et surtout pour que l'erre nouvelle traceé par la justice et la raison (Erre qui doit conduire au plus grand bonheur de tous, par l'equité, la bonne foi, et par légalité positive devant la loi) ne commence point en

France par une INJUSTICE IMPOLITIQUE, dangereuse au repos, poison de l'industrie et du commerce ;—la plus grande des erreurs qui puisse affliger un peuple, puisqu'elle implique deux fautes qui lorsque separément commises par necessité l'une a toujours été l'excuse de l'autre ;—erreur dont la réparation est d'autant plus urgente et désirable qu'elle nous paroit être le seul moyen de râvir au despotisme justement proscrit, le seul espoir qui lui reste de reparoitre en France.

PHILIPPE I. VOUDRA-T-IL ABDIQUER?

Il n'est jamais trop tard pour réparer une faute : plus elle est énorme, plus le rang elevé, et plus il y a de grandeur magnanime dans la réparation. Mais cette réparation estelle toujours dans les possibles? L'on nous dira peut-être que c'est exiger d'un homme plus que l'humanité ne sauroit accorder? Néammoins l'importance du moment n'exiget-elle pas que Philippe soit mû par les sentimens les plus nobles et les plus élevés? même par la plus rare des qualités sociales, l'abnegation de soi-même, dont le peuple des trois journées vient de donner un si bel exemple au monde? Ne doit-il pas se montrer au niveau des circonstances inouïes dans lesquelles la France a forcée l'Europe? N'auroit-il donc aucune sympathie pour les malheurs, les larmes, et le sang dont son illégalité surcharge l'avenir : car nous ne saurions trop le répeter, les trois journées, sans la lignée rompue, ne sont qu'un soulèvement en faveur des loix, et point une révolution.

Sa grande àme (ce mobile de l'existence) peut-elle être satisfaite de ne devoir une couronne qu'à la précipitation ou à la pusillanimité d'une parti, lui-meme illégal depuis l'abdication de Charles X,?

Que ne lui disent point tout bas son amour propre et sa conscience? Sa RAISON (cette regle des opérations de l'âme) ne peut-elle être ouverte à la conviction, que sa présence sur le trône ne fait que suspendre une querelle dont l'Europe justement fatiguée désire ardenment de voir la fin? tandis au contraire que sa présence dans la Régence lui promet l'honneur immortel de la terminer à jamais en grèffant une jeune branche cultivée pour le siècle présent sur le tronc des siècles passés; en légalisant par Henry V. une trop longue révolution, dont les phases, tantôt séduisantes, tantot ridicules, mais souvent terribles, ont ébranlé le monde moral, en menaçant plus d'une fois l'anéantissement de la civilisation Européenne : querelle dont les resúltats les plus utiles et les plus précieux seront peut être perdus pour l'humanité, si elle n'est pas radicalement terminée pendant que les mortels qui l'ont vue naitre sont encore au nombre des vivans.

Si Philippe a réellement accepté le trône a la hâte et sans hésiter par amour pour la patrie, par dévouement à ses libertés (comme on se plait à le croire), et non point par l'ambition du pouvoir; la stabilité du bonheur et des libertés de cette même patrie lui demande à présent de prouver son patriotisme, sa générosite, et la grandeur de son âme, en renonçant à toute consideration personelle qui dans l'urgence du véritable interêt de la France et de l'Europe pouroit devenir dangereusement coupable. Et qu'il y songe sérieusement, depuis qu'il est devenu évident pour tous, que le principe de non-intervention, tant utile et sage qu'il puisse être dans L'INTERÊT PARTICULIER DE LA BRANCHE D'ORLÉANS, n'en est pas moins directement opposé à L'INTERÊT GÉNÉRAL DE LA LIBERTÉ DES FEUPLES DE L'EUROPE.

LE PEUPLE FRANÇAIS CONSENTIROIT-IL À L'ABDICATION DE PHILIPPE I.?

Enfin si Philippe, émule du Peuple des trois journées, n'hésitoit point à le surpasser dans cette premiére des qualités sociales, l'abnegation de soi-même, auroit-il le pouvoir d'abdiquer la couronne en faveur d'Henry V.? c'est à dire actuellement, en faveur de celui des trois Prétendans qui seul peut éclipser les deux autres? Nous ne croyons point que ce soit improbable, parceque le Peuple ne s'étant battu contre Charles X. et ses ministres que dans un esprit de résistance à l'injuste arbitraire des ordonnances du 25 Juillet, peut fort bien se dire sans de grands efforts sur lui-même, " Nous n'avons pas voulu " peut-être du Duc du Bourdeaux, offert par Charles X., " dans le moment même où l'effervescence des esprits nous " faisoit regarder comme honteux et lâche de rien recevoir " d'un traitre et d'un parjure; mais si Philippe lui-même, " Roi Citoyen de notre choix, trouve prudent et sage, pour " la paix avenir, pour la bonheur de la France, et pour " donner plus de permanence à nos libertés et à nos droits, " de cèder à cet Enfant la couronne que vous avez lui " donnée, afin d'être lui notre Régent; c'est autre chose, " et nous y consentons d'autant plus volontiers qu'il ne " peut en résulter aucun déplacement dans les divers " branches de l'administration ; le titre seulement change-" roit, mais de facto le CHEF ACTIF de la nation seroit le " même."

La France, en désavouant ainsi L'INJUSTICE IMPOLITIQUE du parti qui n'a pas hésité à la compromettre envers l'Europe sans necessité comme sans avantages, retrouveroit dans son intérieur la tranquillité et la confiance si impérieusement exigées par le besoin des améliorations, en même tems que son industrie et son commerce retrouveroient cette sécurité sans laquelle tout s'arréte.

Quant à l'extérieure, la paix en est mieux assurée pour le présent comme pour l'avenir: les têtes couronnées doivent bien réssentir le résultat des trois journées, mais la double abdication de Juillet qui les suivit, les force au repos et même au silence, car le titre nouveau, non plus que les nouveaux devoirs imposés aux Rois des Français ne les regardent point, tant que la lignée n'est point rompue : depuis lors seulement tous les trônes sont ébranlés, et lorsmême que Philippe a été reconnu des puissances étrangères, n'oubliez pas que ce qui en toute probabilité doit se passer en Europe peut fort bien changer des opinions données à la hâte sur ce qui s'y est déja passé. Cette reconnoissance en outre est-elle? ou n'est-elle pas conditionnelle?

La France rebondissante de joie et de bonheur en apprenant la chute d'un ministre abhorré, et la décheance d'un Roi anti-national, joint à la vue soudaine de son pavillon tricolor (qui produisit avec la rapidité de l'eclair un enthousiasme et une ivresse générale) a du être éblouie pour un tems ; mais la réflexion qui suivra ne peut manquer tôt ou tard de lui ouvrir les yeux sur la véritable position vis-à-vis des autres puissances, et quand la RAISON aura repris son empire sur les passions, il faudra convenir que l'en a malheurcusement été trop loin. QUOIQUE LA LIBERTÉ SOIT LA BASE DE L'EVANGIL, IL Y AURA TOUJOURS INCOMPATIBILITÉ ENTRE L'EGLISE CA-THOLIQUE ROMAINE, ET LA CONSTITUTION FRANÇAISE.

Si Henry V. avec la Régence d'Orléans nous paroit être pour l'Europe une garantie de paix, sa présence en France est encore plus indispensable pour protéger la constitution contre un danger mille fois plus à redouter que celui même d'un changement de dynastie: nous voulons parler de ce pouvoir occulte qui tout en se ramifiant par tout, n'est tangible nulle part. Henry V. peut seul donner au gouvernement nouveau cette force morale qui lui manque pour confondre les énnemis pieux et vindicatifs de toute liberté.

L'influence de Rome et le Parti-Prètre ont dictés les ordonnances parricides qui ont amené la crise : il faut donc parvenir à éloigner cette influence, et pouvoir exclure radicalement ce parti des affaires civiles. Les deux systêmes dans l'education de la jeunesse, comme dans le gouvernement des hommes, seront toujours incompatibles: ROME SE NOURIT DE LA CENDRE DES LIVRES QUI S'AD-DRESSENT À LA RAISON, ET NE JOUIT QUE DE L'HARMONIE DU SILENCE DES PEUPLES: la Liberté au contraire ne sauroit exister sans celle de la PRESSE, ni sans celle de conscience, et ne prospere que par les débats publiques des assemblées populaires : vouloir persister à les faire marcher ensemble, c'est demander sans exaggeration qu'il fasse nuit et jour en même tems. Aussi longtems que Rome ne change point, aussi longtems la Liberté doit-elle soupçonner un énnemi dans chaque Prêtre.

En 1791, l'Evesque de Lyon (Lamourette) disoit déja à l'Assemblée Nationale, " Que la liberté est la base de " l'Evangil, qu'il est plus démocratique que la Constitution ; " mais que la Théologie Romaine n'est qu'un Christianisme " défiguré, aristocratisé; et que ce n'est que de cette Thé-" ologie dont la Constitution doit prononcer l'anéantisse-" ment." Depuis lors voici près de 40 ans découlés, et L'EGLISE GALLICANE N'EST POINT ENCORE RADICALEMENT SÉPARÉE DE ROME: et cette même Théologie n'a point cessé de répandre sur la jeunesse son venin anti-libéral pour empoisoner tous les cœurs nés francs et généreux.

Chercher ailleurs la cause des obstacles presqu'insurmountables que la Liberté a sans cesse rencontré en France depuis un demi siècle, c'est montrer une pusillanimité fondée sur des scrupuls religieux que les tems désavouent ; c'est rejetter la solution d'un problême par amour pour les difficultés du calcul.

Questionnez l'ombre de TORQUEMADO, de ce fameux Inquisiteur (dont les fureurs apostoliques ont comme cloué et rivé l'Espagne religieuse au 15^{me} siècle) sur le malhereux sort des réformes de Seville et Valladolid; elle vous répondra, "que l'Evangil dans toute sa pureté libérale allant être connu de tous, le pieux Clergé d'alors ne vit son salut que dans l'extermination de tous les fidels éclairés.

Pourquoi d'un autre côté les Etats Unis d'Amerique ont-ils durant ce même demi siècle conservé sans secousse et sans revers cette liberté chérie qui fait leur union et leur force? c'est que, lorsqu'ils conquirent leur indépendence politique, ils sçurent en même tems s'affranchir du fardeau inutil d'un sacerdoce national relevant de l'étranger, sous lequel la Liberté ne peut respirer, car partout ou se trouve une secte privilegiée de préferance aux autres, la soi-disante liberté de conscience n'est qu'un mensonge religieux. La crise actuelle nous paroit des plus favorables pour éffectuer en France une séparation AUSSI SALUTAIRE à la permanence du régime constitutionnel; autrement ce sera sans cesse à recommencer, puisqu' une partie de la nation continuant d'être élevée, dans la méfiance et dans la haine de l'autre, une vengeance mutuelle n'attends qu'une occasion propice pour s'exercer aveuglément dans l'espoir de dominer exclusivement.

Les ordonnances de Charles X. prouvent assez que lui du moins comprenoit l'incompatibilité des deux systêmes, puisqu'elles n'indiquent autre chose, si non la ferme résolution, coute qui coute, d'anéantir tout ce qui est en opposition directe ou indirecte au pouvoir du parti Prêtre; et tant que vous n'aurez pas déraciné en France la cause des motifs qui l'ont poussé jusqu' à signer de pareilles ordonnances (15 ans après le retour de la liberté), vous n'aurez rien gagné en le chassant, qui tende à donner la stabilité requise aux droits de l'homme comme citoyen, afin que chacun puisse en jouir en paix.

La confession auriculaire, le refus de l'absolution, et cet abus dont il ne manque pas d'exemples d'une absolution conditionelle (monstruosité religieuse) donnent aux énnemis de toute liberté un pouvoir d'autant plus dangereux qu'il est incommensurable dans plus de cent mille ramifications secrètes, en province surtout, mais redoutable à ce qu'il n'a qu'un seul but, celui d'intimider la conscience pour dominer la raison en étouffant la pensée.

L'age d'Henry V., l'education qui lui seroit donnée, et le caractère de CELUI que nous rappelons a la Régence, sont autant de garanties que ce jeune Prince n'aura aucun des scrupuls religieux qui souvent ont retardés les réformes en France et ailleurs.

Sans de grande changemens (nous ne pourons trop le

répeter) dans l'état du Clergé dévoué au service divin-dans le mode d'enseignement de la théologie-dans les séminaires-dans le choix et la nomination des Evèsques, Vicaires, Chamoines, et surtout des Curés de chaque canton, et des Désservans de chaque paroisse; sans une parfaite confiance dans tous les employés, qui par leur vocation out forcément des rapports fréquens avec tous les habitans de la province; il faut regarder comme impossible le progrès des connoissances, ou la possession paisible et permanente des institutions libérales. Or, comme des réformes aussi sérieuses ne peuvent être hazardées avec ombre de succès par un gouvernement trop foible, entouré de turbulence, de conjectures, d'incertitudes, et de craintes pour l'avenir, nous n'hésitons point à dire, qu'il faut être au fond liberticide, malgré un patriotisme manifeste, pour persister a répousser un héritier légitime dont l'esprit et la conscience seroient preparés à tems pour sanctioner les mesures les plus anti-Romaines, qui sont devenues de nécessité urgente, après une crise dont la cause injuste et parjure fut cependant sanctionée par le Souverain PONTIF, mais qui sera la dernière il faut le croire si cette influence sinistre dont la Liberté fut toujours dupe, est enfin irrévocablement anéantie.

L'on nous dira que cela demande du tems, qu'il faut y aller doucement, avec prudence; mais le tems a toujours été l'énnemi d'une liberté trop confiante, et dans l'état actuel des choses ce tems sera aussi celui des intrigues et des complots, dont la source étant au déhors, c'est raison de plus pour la replacer au dedans: alors, au lieu d'un Roi pygmée qui retarde, vous auriez un Régent Hercule pour faire marcher en paix la liberté, d'amelioration en amelioration, sans autres guides que LA JUSTICE, LA RAISON, et L'EXPÉRIENCE.

Les principes de morale sont plus forts que les choses qui passent: parmi ces principes l'immuable justice et la reconnoissance sont les plus sacrés, parcequ'ils sont les mêmes dans tous les tems, et vivement sentis par tous les cœurs: or, qu'il nous soit permis de demander si JUSTICE a été rendue au dévouement, a la modération, a cette abnégation sublime du peuple des trois journées ? et comment l'apprécier a sa juste valeur, et la reconnoitre mieux, qu'en la donnant pour modèle au chef de ce même peuple, lequel soudainement élevé trop haut, se trouve dans une position fausse, ou comme paralisé entre deux influences opposées, il ne peut résister à l'une sans comprimer l'autre, c'est a dire, qu'il est forcé de comprimer injustement la liberté, et de retarder ainsi les améliorations, dans l'espoir de jouer avec succès le rôle de la légitimité; problème politique que le tems seul peut résoudre.

Dans l'incertitude irritante où il nous laisse sur l'avenir, (DANS LEQUEL L'EUROPE EST TOUT AU MOINS AUSSI IN-TERESSÉE QUE LA FRANCE), son abdication volontaire doit paroitre le seul moyen de prévenir à tems les complots et les guerres dont nous avons indiqué les causes plus que probables dans les élémens de vengeance et de discorde auquels son illégalité donne naissance, comme dans le réveil des droits d'un autre Prétendant que la Restauration de 1814 avoit rendus nuls.

Sans l'abdication de Philippe l'éclat de trois journées ne sera plus, il est à craindre, qu'une lumière trompeuse pour éblouir la Liberté, laquelle disparoissant peu à peu ne laisse déja qu'une foible lueure : pronostic d'autres changemens qui menacent de la laissir languir jusqu'à ce qu'elle puisse être garottée de nouveau par ses énnemis cachés: si non de l'indigner au point que s'élançant hors des gonds de la Charte, elle ne redevienne elle-méme absolue pour dévorer à la fois sans distinction ses énnemis et ses enfans.

Sans cette abdication volontaire qui replaceroit la France dans la sphère de la JUSTICE, hors de laquelle il n'y a point de permanence dans la force de l'union; les avantages précieux si miraculeusement remportés sur l'Arbitraire vont être livrés sans protection suffisante à toutes les chances perfides (lorsmême que glorieuses) de guerres inévitables et de troubles intérieurs,—à toutes les conséquences incalculables de la jalousie de tous les peuples pour lesquels le succès des trois journées est un puissant mobile d'excitation,—et à la vengeance des Rois absolus pour lesquels la révolution qui répousse l'héritier légitime, est une atteinte impardonable portée aux principes qui font encore toute leur force.

Puisse l'avenir nous convaincre que nos craintes sont mal-fondées! En attendant LE TEMPS MARCHE, les rapports entre les gouvernans et les gouvernés semblent exiger partout impérieusement des réformes urgentes.

" L'EUROPE CHANGE DE PEAU," a dit un naturaliste; dans ce cas que le gouvernement qui sera le dernier y prenne garde, car la queue fut toujours la plus difficile à écorcher.

En offrant nos réflexions sur la France, sans parler des Ex-Ministres de Charles X. nous pourions être soupçonnés d'une indifference peu louable sur le sort de ces malheureux: ils sont coupables, il est vrai, mais leur situation périlleuse doit néanmoins interesser vivement en Europe les hommes de tous les partis.

Voici donc en peu de mots ce que nous en pensons :

fasse le ciel que notre opinion soit celle de tous ceux dont leur sort dépend si la loi ne suffit point pour les sauver.

Sous le régime de l'absolu, le Souverain ne régnant le plus souvent que par la crainte qu'il inspire a l'ignorance et aux préjugés, pourvoit à la sureté de sa personne comme bon lui semble.

Dans le régime constitutionnel, le Roi d'un peuple éclairé qui raisonne et qui juge, ne pouvant rien faire comme bon lui semble, la loi veut qu'il ne puisse mal faire, et déclare sa personne inviolable.

Le Peuple jaloux de ses droits demande alors avec raison une garantie contre les chances d'un mauvais gouvernement; de là résulte une autre loi, qui veut que les Ministres du Roi soyent responsables de leurs actes. Nous ne voyons dans cette seconde loi fondamentale, responsabilité des Ministres, que la conséquence naturelle de la première loi fondamentale, inviolabilité de la personne du Roi: or, la première loi êtant violé par le parti même qui exige la seconde loi, cette dernière se trouve par le fait comme révoquée, puisque la cause de la responsabilité des Ministres cessant avec le Roi, ses Ministres n'ont plus d'existence politique.

Charles X. s'est laissé chasser par le peuple, et la justice ayant ainsi passé de fait *par dessus les ministres* pour s'exercer directement sur la personne du Roi (malgré la loi d'inviolabilité), les fonctions de la justice doivent cesser, car d'après quel principe pouroit-elle revenir en forme sur la question de responsabilité (conséquence de celle d'inviolabilité) quand il n'y a plus de Roi? Loin donc de pouvoir punir les Ex-Ministres, la justice n'a pas même la faculté de les mettre en jugement: nous ne saurions penser autrement quant à la justice selon la loi, et nous ne pouvons en admettre d'autre. Mais nous dit on, il y a un esprit de vengeance à redouter qui ne raisonne pas, qui ne connoît point de frein, et sur laquelle le tems même qui change tout, a quelquefois peu d'empire. La force seule peut donc retenir la vengeance. Cette force existe-t-elle? pourra-t-elle prévenir la mise en jugement? Nous ne le croyons pas. Ici tout nous paroit changer d'aspect; ce n'est plus une question de responsabilité dont il s'agit: LA JUSTICE, nous l'avons dit, est déja satisfaite sur ce point; le Peuple injustement menacé dans son impatience lui arracha son épée, et versa tant de sang dans un côté de la balance que le Despotisme foudroyé ne put préponderer de l'autre, et justice a été faite du Despote.

Il ne reste donc qu'une vengeance aveugle (quoique facile à concevoir) devant une illégalité trop foible peut être pour en prévenir les conséquences fatales: or les deux questions qui se présentent maintenant ne sont rien moins que celles-ci:--

Faut-il sacrifier les Ex-Ministres pour mieux s'assurer du Trone? Ou bien,

Faut-il sauver les Ex-Ministres, coute qui coute, en hazardant même le Trone?

Dilèmme affreux, déchirant, pour l'ame de Philippe, mais duquel nous voulons croire qu'il sortira triomphant, avec l'approbation de sa conscience *comme homme*, avec bonheur et satisfaction pour l'avenir, s'il n'a *comme Roi* la force ou les moyens de sauver des malheureux arretés sans ordres, et dont Charles X. a payé les forfaits en perdant le plus beau trône du monde.

Ah! si Philippe Lieutenant Général avoit eu la fermeté de répondre a ceux qui l'ont entrainé, "LA "RÉGENCE QUI M'APARTIENS, MAIS JAMAIS LA COURONNE!" que de chagrins, que de regrets amers il se fut épargné! et combien de turbulence, de complots, et de guerres la France eut dérobé à l'avenir ! CAR NOUS VOYONS ENCORE BIEN DES LARMES ET DU SANG AUTRAVERS DU VOILE QUI NOUS LE CACHE.

FINIS.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

ON THE

NATURAL ORIGIN

AND

PROGRESS OF THEOLOGY;

OR,

NEW SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE.

PARTS I. TO V.

NOTICES OF THE WORK.

"There is a mind-stirring property in the 'New SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE,' truly refreshing under the influence of that stifled moral atmosphere which surrounds so many of the literary productions of the day; characterised as they frequently are. by a creeping cautiousness, a mistaken and decrepid prudence, which prevaricates with truth, and nullifies whatever good may be intended.

"The THEOREMS appear to me a master-piece of sound logic, and will be subscribed to, by every mind capable of analyzing its own feelings and impressions. It demonstrates a great truth; namely, that 'religions, properly so called, are not only out of the reach of destruction, but are even beyond the apprehension of it.' The author's aim, therefore, is obviously not to destroy that which, although always subject to the 'vicissitudes and modifications' which the human brain itself undergoes, is itself indestructible.

tions which the human orall itself undergoes which the subject "The ideas, often new, are clearly and well expressed, and the subject throughout is treated with that uncompromising, straightforward honesty of purpose, which does credit to the head and heart of its author, and is worthy the sacred cause it advocates, namely, SOCIAL REGENERATION THROUGH MENTAL EDUCATION.

"I pronounce this work to be a truly religious, as well as a highly philosophical production, carrying conviction at every step. The question is, in fact, what it should be—one of education, for though the various mystic dogmas now taught, are not believed by any class of men of the present day, yet they have a most fatal tendency, not only to pervert the understanding and give habits of falsehood and hypocrisy. but also to corrupt the heart, fill it with bad and anti-social passions, and make our species so many chained demons upon earth. Compelled as we are to pass a short and miserable existence shooting at a mark for hope of reward, or fear of punishment—both being two-fold in this life and another—must we not direct all our attention towards the object set up to engross it, and consequently be utterly blind to all other phenomena passing around us ! VLASTA, Sep. 8, 1836.

"A pamphlet, that three-fourths of the world (at present) will denounce as detestable in doctrine, as it is brilliant in the employment of misdirected talent."—The METROPOLITAN, October 1st. 1836.

"This work has good and evil in it curiously and strongly mixed. What we call the evil is the atheism—if we understand it right as such ;—what we call the good is the glowing spirit of moral intellectual liberty with which it is refreshed. This liberty, true religion teaches us to claim; yet, this liberty the priests refuse to give us, and they are now leagued with the Tories to prevent our obtaining it. But priests never yet succeeded in stopping the current of human thought, nor can they now, in this age of intellectual and moral power, when the current is stronger against them than at any former period."—WEEKLY HERALD, November, 1836.

"This is the first part of a work, of which, though perhaps it may be slighted by some who call themselves learned—we wish to see the conclusion. The gay and shallow-minded will not thank us for reviewing it ;—its pages contain nothing to amuse. The bigoted will condemn us, for it has little with which such can be soothed and flattered. The really free and independent in spirit and mind may perhaps thank us for putting into their hands some clue, even though it be a slight one, that may conduct them to the seat of a just judgment in things of high importance. Solomon well said 'there is a time for all things.' For this, then, there is also a time; and THAT TIME IS NOW. Occasionally, these 'Thoughts' would alarm many whose minds, for want of having had sufficient exercise in unbiassed investigation, are not strong and healthy enough to swallow truth, neat.' But to others who, mentally considered, are of a masculine temperament, they will not fail to afford both pleasure and profit. We have here a proper definition of education.—Would the time were come when education will fulfil it."— WILTSHIBE INDEPENDENT, December 15th, 1836.

"There is something here worthy of notice. The chapter of old 'Spiritualism and Materialism,'—' Mind and Matter,'—' Soul and Body,' is truly original, and one of the best treatises on the subject we have read. We can say the same of the Chapter of 'Cause and Effect.' Taken as a whole, the work is a strange mixture of large and small things; but set forth with some degree of talent, sound thought, and sound principles. We should suppose the author, during his composition, wrote on each succeeding subject that excited his attention, come what may; but still he has written well on all." —The PRENIX, No. 4, Feb. 26, 1837.

"I must thank you and your excellent, talented, bold, and fearless correspondent 'A Student in Realities,' for his useful, very useful, and valuable articles, which are calculated to remove the 'blind faith' of the weak, timid, the unreflecting, and poor priest-ridden part of the creation. Happy shall I be to find that your praiseworthy efforts, and your friend's talents, are duly appreciated by a great, very great, extension of support to the 'STAR IN THE EAST."—No. 34, May 6, 1837. "When criticism fixes itself upon principles rather than upon persons, it becomes proportionably more just and more permanently interesting. In this point of view the 'New Sanctuary' is of the highest importance to the age. The Student in Realities is clearly a man of lively observation and profound thought, and we hope he will meet with sufficient encouragement to pursue the present kind of publication."—THE NEW MORAL WORLD, September 10, 1836.

Paris, 5th October, 1837.

"I return you my most sincere thanks for parts I and 2 of the 'NEW SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE,' I read them with the most lively interest, and was highly delighted with the doctrine they contain. I truly admire the courage of the author, who is bold enough to attack, corps a corps, the powerful monster of hypocrisy and fanaticism, that has so long curbed the intellectual powers of the English nation under its baneful influence.

"The mystic doctrines these tracts are intended to overturn having deep and strong roots in England, and the sanction of great names, they cannot be presented under too many aspects to insure conviction in their absurdity, by the complete refutation of the numberless sophistical arguments on what is called ' natural religion,' and which is nothing else but a misapplication of the principles of true philosophy.

"This appeal to reason has been, it seems, well received by a part of the public, and does not appear to have excited any thing like a general clamour against the author, printer, and publisher. Do the good people of England begin to doubt of the infallibility of its creed? If so, we may confidently hope for a new age, marked by the diffusion of sound understanding applied effectually to national education." DR. T. S. CONSTANCIO.

"I want to quarrel with the Student in Realities for introducing the discussion of important principles and masonic sentiments, under pretence that they are generated by a perusal of one of the shallowest books the age has produced.

"He is not justified in coming in at the fag end of such a petty affair. A mind that can grasp universality should not be wasted on the puny man of arrangement and detail. It is Johnson waiting upon Boswell; and unless the book is more read on that account, which I do not think is the case, he ought to stand forward upon his own originality."—C. L. Sept., 1837.

"I consider that the 'NEW SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE' is written in the fearless and truly liberal, yet temperate, style which can alone tend to emancipate the world from that state of mental and physical degradation in which the mysteries of priest-craft and king-craft have plunged and retained it. The principal fault of the work, in my opinion, is a want of concentrativeness on the part of the author; but who ever met with a book wholly free from imperfection? That writings equally candid and intelligent may increase and multiply in a geometric ratio, is my fervent aspiration."—N. Wood. Campsall Hall, October, 1838,

^{**} I have perused with attention and delight, the excellently written articles that have from time to time appeared in the 'New Sanctuary.' Greatly shall I rejoice to find the Author's endeavours to open the eyes of the blind, crowned with success, but I very much fear that the determination of the majority of the English to close their eyes to facts and to open their ears to fictions, will frustrate the good endeavours of all those who like the 'Student in Realities,' will brave obloquy of all kinds in the furtherance of real knowledge."-C. W. M. Deptford, Sep., 1837.

"J'ai reçu et j'ai lu avec beaucoup d'attention, vos lettres, sur la foi mystique, elles-mént inspiré l'interèt le plus vif, et je les ai communiquées a mon fils: Vous ferez fort bien Monsieur, de poursuivre cette tàche, elle est belle, et digne d'un philanthrope. J'approuve sans reserve toutes vos reflexions, car elles sons les miemes aussi, et j'en donnerai de nouvelles preuves dans la seconde edition de, mon traité sur l'irittabilité et la folie.

Si j'avoir eu le temps de relire votre travail j'en aurai extrait quelques vues car il y en a beaucoup qui m'ont vivement frappé, et je vous aurai cété comme de raison avec votre autorsation. Je ne regarde pas le mysticisme comme necessaire, rigoureusement parlant—mais plustot comme éventuael, je m'attache a faire resortir les avantages, qu'il y auroit a s'en passer,—et pour le démontrer j'envoque l'histoire."—Dr. F. J. BROUSSAIS. Paris, Mai, 1838.

"I am very much pleased with Part II. of the 'Sanctuary,' only I think, as the subjects of 'body and mind,' and 'cause and effect,' are very important and but little understood, the Author has hardly insisted sufficiently on them. I consider the style elegant and expressive—but perhaps, hardly plain and popular enough for those unaccustomed to think. It is difficult for a free and vigorous mind to conceive and provide for the obtuseness and sluggishness of the ignorant and unreflecting."—F. B. BARTON Worcester, Dec. 6, 1838.

"I return my heartfelt thanks to the author of the 'SANCTUARY OF THOUGHT AND SCIENCE,' assuring him, at the same time, that I value each part of his *inestimable* and *manly work more* than all the *religio superstitio mystical jargons* in the world. If ully agree with the *Student in Realities*, that the clergy, in spite of their *Right Divine*, are utterly incapable of forming

> 'The just, the generous soul ! Who owneth brotherhood with either pole; Stretches from realm to realm his spacious mind, And guards the weal of all the human kind, Holds freedom's banner o'er the earth unfurl'd, And stands the guardian patriot of the world !' ''

Sheffield, January 23rd. 1839.

H C. FLORY.

J. H. Starie, Printer, 166, High Holborn.

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